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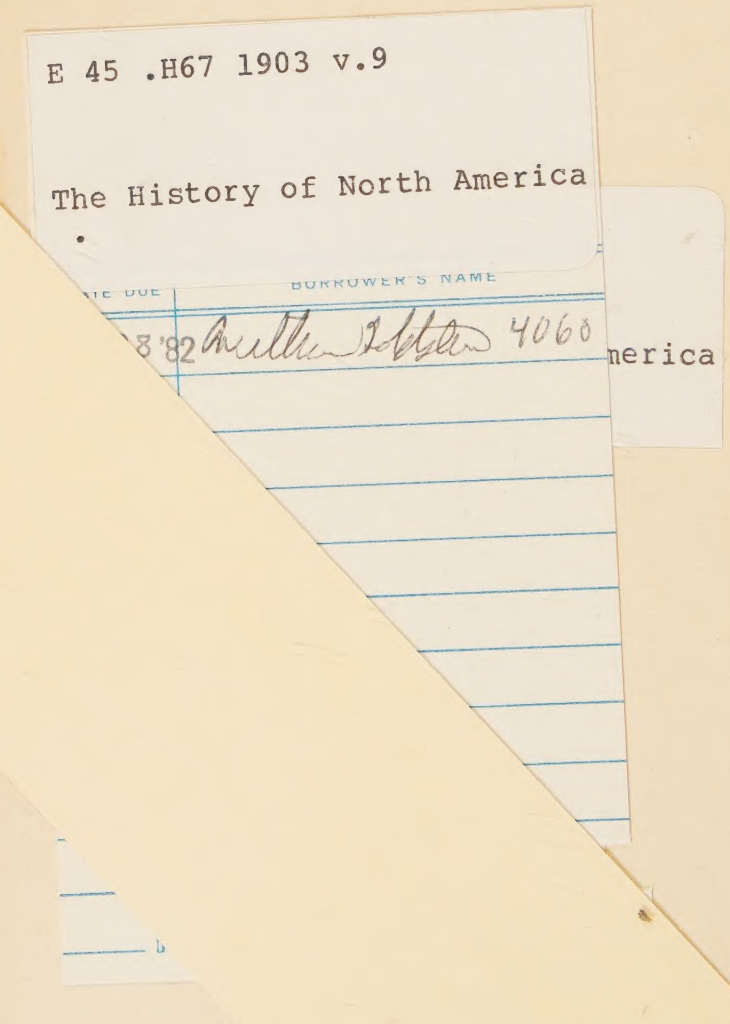

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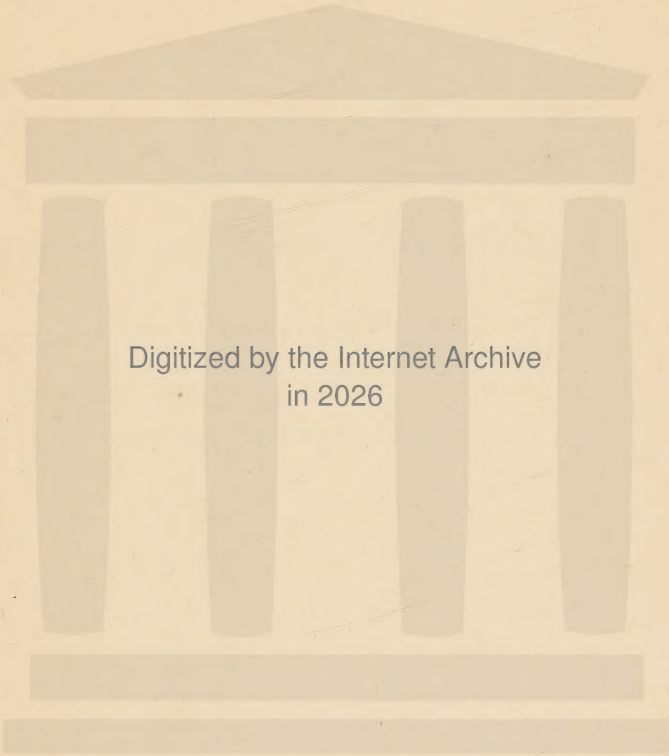
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*THE*

# *HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA*

*Francis Newton Thorpe, Ph. D.*

*Fellow, and Professor (1885–1898) of American Constitutional History, University of Pennsylvania, Editor*

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HERNANDO CORTÉS

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# THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

## VOLUME NINE *CENTRAL AMERICA AND MEXICO*

BY

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*CENTRAL AMERICA AND MEXICO*

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# EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE preceding volume, which narrates the history of the Louisiana Purchase and the Westward Movement, carries the reader back to the days of New France; the present volume carries him still further back to the days of New Spain. At the close of the seventeenth century North America gave little promise of becoming chiefly an English-speaking continent: at that time New Spain comprised Central America, Mexico, the California country and most of the region between the Gulf of Mexico and the line of the Ohio river. Though the number of Spaniards scattered over this vast area was relatively small, the title of Spain to the soil was already ancient and well established; but the title to the region north of the Gulf of Mexico was already yielding to the actual occupation of English colonists. Another century passed and the region remained New Spain, save that area north of the Floridas and east of the Mississippi which, settled, explored and possessed by English-speaking people, had become a part of the United States.

The year 1820 marks the first crisis in the decay of Spanish power in North America, when, as it were by concerted action, the provinces of New Spain revolted from the home government: among the consequences of this revolt were the formation of the republics of Central America, Mexico and Texas; the Anglo-American movement into Texas; the establishment of Texan independence; the annexation of

Texas to the United States; the Mexican War; the acquisition of California by the United States; the admission of California into the Union, and the history of New Mexico, Arizona and Nevada, and also of Colorado, a large portion, in the aggregate, of New Spain.

The present volume narrates the history of Central America, Mexico, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona—that is, of the greater part of New Spain: it rounds out and completes that comprehensive survey of human interests in North America from prehistoric times to the present, made by the History of North America. It contributes to bring into order, understanding and correlation that unique series of events which comprise the history of man on this continent.

The present volume has its special theme: the history of Spain in the greater part of New Spain. That history is of discovery, of exploration, of conquest, of colonization and of exploitation. It is the history of a restless region of the globe. Probably no other region, unless it be parts of Egypt or of the British Indian Empire, exhibits a more changeful record. The region over which the action, as narrated in this volume, moves has been and in part continues to be the region of revolutions and civil changes. It was a revolution that created the successive republics of Central America; the republic of Mexico; the republic of Texas; it is largely of revolutions that the present volume treats.

The theme is unique and difficult. The very restlessness of the peoples whose history is herein told makes almost impossible the preservation of historical records. The Spanish-speaking people of North America have made many chapters of history, but the historian soon discovers the obstacles in the way of a complete, an impartial, a trustworthy record of motives, causes, incidents and events which, could they be understood and interpreted as the modern historian would wish, would not fail to make one of the most absorbing if not instructive chapters in the history of North America. But the records are in shreds and patches, and those extant are not always reliable. Revolutions and civil wars are

careless custodians of a nation's archives; and nowhere on this continent are the archives more fragmentary than in Mexico and Central America. Justly, then, in reading any history of that portion of North America the reader must duly weigh the obstacles and difficulties which have confronted the historian at every point of his investigation. It is not remarkable that we know so little, but that we know so much of the course of events in this portion of the world.

From the nature of the theme, the narrative herein recorded differs from that in any other volume of the series. As a portion of Spain's vast share of the world's soil acquired during the two centuries following the voyages of Columbus, Mexico and Central America present to the historian a theme in part elaborated in the twentieth volume, which treats of the Island Possessions of the United States. Spain crossed Mexico to reach the Philippines, and from Mexico carried to those distant islands the torch of civilization. One who thoughtfully reads the present volume and that on the Island Possessions of the United States must at last conclude that in them he is dealing with problems to which the only key is race. It is an aboriginal world exploited by Spain into which he enters; the history of North America is chiefly of an aboriginal world exploited by Great Britain—a world into which the customs, laws, languages and institutions of peoples not of the Latin race came as shaping destiny. Perhaps the chief interest to the thoughtful reader will be in the diverse courses which the civilization of Southern Europe and the civilization of Northern Europe followed in North America. From the region once known as New Spain, in North America, the Spanish marks have never wholly disappeared. To this day Spanish remainders are visible, not alone in Central America and Mexico, but also in Texas, in Arizona, in New Mexico and in Colorado. Nor is it likely that the time will ever come when no vestige of the historic Spanish occupation of these regions can be found. And no thoughtful person will fail to appreciate the profound significance of that occupation.

Until the later history of Texas is reached, when its people organized a republic, there is little relief to the sombre background of savagery, barbarism, cruel and destructive slavery of the native races, the insane exploitation of the land for gold, the rapid succession of revolts, insurrections and revolutions, and the stern supremacy of military over civil authority. Texas, by its historic Declaration of Independence, boldly separates itself from this hopeless turmoil and emerges into history, for a brief time, as a republic, and for all time as a State in the American Union. But the change was not made without peril, losses and sacrifices. Texas was destined to bear the part of the frontier state between two civilizations: the Spanish and the Anglo-Saxon; the civilizations in America which flowed from those of Southern Europe and Northern Europe. The history of Texas in the early days of its independence is not unlike that of a free and liberty-loving people, the Swiss—in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when hemmed in on all sides by greedy and hostile nations. We are yet so near these events in Texas that we lack the perspective by which alone they can be seen in their true light. Looking backwards, it may seem to us that inevitably there must come a time when the civilization of the distinctively Latin races and that of the Teutonic races would establish a boundary line in North America: and now it seems plain that the Rio Grande river became, as it were naturally, that boundary.

The history of North America can be understood only in relation to the history of Europe: the very names, New Spain, New France, New England, seem to anticipate the historical unities. For this reason the present volume takes on additional interest, when read in due connection with the volume on Canada and British North America; the volumes on the Colonization of the South, of the Middle States and New England; on the Louisiana Purchase, the Pacific Slope and Alaska. In these is the history of the beginnings of North America influenced by European civilization; all the later history is of administration and the application of ideas to facts.

That there are here very diverse and, as history proclaims, heterogeneous elements, the blending of which into a harmonious whole is the present vast operation of events in North America is plain. New Spain, New England, New France comprise to-day large portions of the United States. The story is a story of gradual coördination, not unlike the earlier coördinations of diverse races and peoples in Asia and Europe. The reader of the history of North America will do well to read between the lines and there to discover the mighty trend of human affairs in this Western World. Ages hence, men will be writing and reading as men now write and read, and one of the compelling themes will be the course of human affairs in North America.

In full sympathy with the best canons of history and with the liberal interpretation of human affairs, the learned authors of the present volume have narrated the history of Central America, Mexico and Texas; and though at times almost dismayed by the difficulties of their task, they have persistently adhered to one dominant principle in the best historical work: to record truthfully the results of their patient investigations.

FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE.

## AUTHORS' PREFACE

THE authors of the present work wish to record here their obligations to the various authorities that they have consulted.

For the earlier period of the conquest of Central America much material has been obtained from Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, and from Herrera, *Histoire Générale des voyages et Conquêtes des Castillans dans les Indes Occidentales* (translated from the Spanish). Grateful acknowledgments are due to the Librarian of Congress for the loan, through the Howard Library, of Milla & Carillo's *Historia de America Central* and Peralta's *Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Panama in the 16th Century*. Among the authorities in English for the same period constant reference has been made to Bourne, *Spain in America*, and to Helps, *Spanish Conquest*. For the buccaneers the principal authority used was Oexmelin's *History of the Buccaneers;* and, for the remarkable career of the filibuster, William Walker, William V. Wells' *Walker's Expedition*. For the nineteenth century valuable assistance has been derived from E. G. Squier's *Nicaragua,* and from *Notes on Travels in Central America,* by the same author; also from Stephens & Catherwood's *Incidents of Travel in Central America*. For the most recent events use had been made of Marrion Wilcox's articles on the various republics of Central America in the *Encyclopedia Americana*. No one, however, can attempt to write the history of Central America without consulting, for all periods, the monumental work of H. H. Bancroft. The matter of this

author is not always well digested and the style leaves much to be desired, but his volumes on Central America are a storehouse of facts drawn from thousands of sources.

Finally, the author of the part of this work which is devoted to Central America, wishes to express his grateful acknowledgments to Hon. Julio Novella, consul of Guatemala, at New Orleans, for kind offices; to Mr. William Beer, librarian of the Howard Library, for the privilege of using his private library; to Mr. T. P. Thompson, for like courtesies; and to Dr. Pierce Butler, of Tulane University of Louisiana, for valuable literary criticism.

For the history of Mexico, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, the following authorities have been consulted: Bishop Zumárraga's *Letters of Cortez,* Fiske's *Discovery of America,* Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America.* Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico,* edited by Kirk, Dr. Nicolas León's *Compendio de la Historia General de México,* Luis Pérez's Verdía's *Compendio de la Historia de México,* P. Macedo's *La Evolución Mercantil,* A. H. Noll's *History of Mexico* and *From Empire to Republic,* P. Margry's *Origines Françaises des pays d'Outre-Mer,* Helps' *The Spanish Conquest in America,* Parkman's *La Salle,* George P. Garrison's *History of Texas,* Sierra and Ballesco's *Mexico, Its Social Evolution.* Special mention is due to the numerous and invaluable volumes of H. H. Bancroft, of which constant use has been made.

The author of this portion of the work wishes to thank Señor Emilio Aleman, consul of Mexico at New Orleans, and Señor Lic. Ezequiel A. Chávez,of Mexico City, for valuable information; Mr. William Beer, of the Howard Library, for the loan of important books and pamphlets; Mr. W. G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution at Washington, for bibliographical data; ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince, of Santa Fé, for valuable information concerning New Mexico; and both authors make grateful acknowledgment to Miss Minnie Bell, of the Tulane University Library, for unfailing courtesy and kindness.

In conclusion, it is proper to state that besides the first part of this volume—the history of Central America—the chapters on Texas since the annexation are the work of Professor Ficklen.

John R. Ficklen.
Alcée Fortier.

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# *CENTRAL AMERICA*

# CHAPTER I

## *DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION*

THE name, Central America, has not been found on any map of the western hemisphere before the opening of the nineteenth century. The rich, tropical region to which the name is now applied embraces the independent republics of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama, all lying between Mexico and South America. In 1823 the first five of these formed a union and declared themselves the "United Provinces of the Center of America", and in 1902 they styled themselves the "Central American Family." The Isthmus of Panama, though it kept out of the union and preferred annexation to Colombia, is closely connected by its early history with the rest of Central America and will therefore be included in this narrative. In like manner some account must be taken of the colony of British Honduras, the history of which falls partly under that of Yucatan (Mexico) and partly under that of Central America.

Geologically the whole of Central America seems to be more closely related to the West Indies than to the northern and southern continents. Its mountain ranges, including those of Colombia and Venezuela, run at right angles to the Cordilleras, and are connected by submarine ridges with the mountains of the West Indian islands. It is very possible that in the Tertiary period Central America formed with the Antilles a great island or archipelago, lying between North and South America.

The discovery of Central America, at least of all that portion lying north of the proposed inter-oceanic canal, was the last of the splendid deeds of Christopher Columbus. It formed an interlude in the gloom and disaster of his later years. Returning from his third voyage in the fetters that he refused to be relieved of as long as he remained on shipboard, he won the repentant consideration of the Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and was permitted to embark on his fourth and last voyage. As we shall see, it led him to new lands, which he added to the dominions of his sovereigns; but as he failed to find a passage to India or any great treasure, he could not win back the favor he had once enjoyed at court. A few years later he died in the poverty and neglect that have too often overtaken the benefactors of the human race.

It was on the 9th of May, 1502, that Columbus left Spain on this last voyage. The four vessels which he had obtained from the royal bounty were small, no one of them exceeding seventy tons, and his crew consisted of only one hundred and fifty souls. But his courage had not been impaired by either age or misfortune, and he believed, with the faith which had always upheld him, that now at last he should discover a way to those richer parts of India which would compensate him for all the losses and disappointments of the past. His high hopes were shared by his young son Fernando and his brother Bartholomew, who accompanied him.

When he had passed San Domingo, which he reached after a voyage of seven weeks, he sailed on into the west, and soon learned, from the Indians encountered on the little islands, of countries rich in gold which lay beyond. Such reports the Indians were ever ready to give; the Spaniards, even after bitter disappointments, ever ready to receive. The admiral, now probably in his fifty-second year, had grown old before his time, and his frame was racked by the gout, but his spirit soared above his bodily infirmities and urged him on to new labors.

An old Indian, whom they took on board as a guide, drew for them a rough outline of the coast, and before many days they saw the mainland.

On the 14th day of August Bartholomew, the *Adelantado,* landed at a point now known as Cape Honduras, and with his officers and men took part in the celebration of the mass. A few days later, at another point some leagues to the east, this divine service was followed by a second service in honor of the sovereigns. The officers landed once more, and displaying the banners of Castile, took possession of the country in the name of their Catholic majesties.

Here some hundred natives appeared, bringing to the strangers offerings of bread, Indian corn, fish, and other edibles; for which they received with great satisfaction such trinkets as the Spaniards were always prepared to distribute.

As the Spaniards sailed along the coast, they met other Indians, who showed in their language and their dress great diversity. Some were entirely naked, others wore coverings about the loins; others long tresses of hair hanging in front; while the chieftains had caps of white or colored cotton.

One hideous manner of adornment is noticed by Las Casas. He says that in one place the natives had their ears bored and greatly distended. But the Spaniards were, above all, shocked to learn from the Indian guide that many of the brutal-looking savages were cannibals.

Eastward along the coast the little fleet struggled through dreadful storms and contrary currents, with such fearful thunder and lightning that the sailors often believed that they had looked upon the day for the last time and confessed their sins in preparation for death. The admiral himself, racked with gouty pains, was moved to the deck of his ship, where from his couch he directed the sailing of the laboring vessels.

After forty days of this fearful sailing, the fleet reached a cape where the coast turned due south. The winds that had been adverse were now propitious, and filling the sails drove the vessels quickly southward. The woes of the past

weeks were soon forgotten and Columbus gratefully gave the Cape the name of Gracias á Dios, which it bears to this day.

Columbus was all the time haunted by the belief that a strait existed to the South cutting the mainland in two, and through it he hoped to reach the Spice Islands. Such a strait Nature seems to have tried to make and failed. To take up the task that Nature left undone was to be the dream of after ages. In this as in so many of his other beliefs Columbus was to meet with bitter disappointment. But he now pursued this will-o'-the-wisp with such eagerness that he was unwilling to stop long enough to traffic with the natives for gold.

After leaving Cape Gracias á Dios the admiral continued his course for many leagues down the coast, passing a large river at whose mouth a boat load of his crew lost their lives in a whirlpool caused by a sudden upheaval of the sea, and beholding at times lofty forests whose summits seemed to reach the skies. At the river now known as the San Juba, the Spaniards found a village of Indians who offered resistance to their landing, but who, when the strangers made no attempt to land, quickly showed a pacific attitude. Some of them swam out to the ships, with presents of cotton goods and such poor ornaments as they possessed. Columbus distributed presents among them, but wishing to exhibit the generosity of the Spaniards, he would accept nothing in return. Whereupon the natives returned to their shores, and with wounded pride, tied up his presents in a bundle and left them to be reclaimed by the Spaniards. When the latter finally sent a boat ashore in search of water, the Indians, their curiosity piqued by the aloofness of the strangers, sent to meet them an old Indian with two young maidens, who he indicated were to be held as hostages. They were taken on board and treated with great courtesy; but they, too, when restored to their friends, returned all the gifts they had received from the admiral.

The Spaniards then sent a notary to the shore with pen, ink, and paper to record such information as could be gleaned

from the natives; but the sight of these strange utensils frightened away the savages and they could not be induced to return until they had burned some kind of powder and wafted the smoke towards the Spaniards. These in their turn were equally intimidated; and Columbus believed he had chanced upon some enchanters who had the power to cast spells. This did not prevent him, however, from seizing two of the natives as guides and sailing away with them to explore the coast. Having passed the shores of Mosquito Land and Nicaragua, Columbus skirted the coast of what is now Costa Rica (Rich Coast). Here the Indians were found to wear ornaments of pure gold, which they readily parted with for some trifling European gewgaws. Though the admiral was in haste to proceed, many plates of pure gold were procured, and Columbus was informed by the natives that in the town of Veragua there were rich mines of the same metal. Beyond this, however, was a still richer country, where the inhabitants wore crowns, bracelets, and anklets of gold, while the women were adorned with coral ornaments. "The inhabitants," wrote Columbus to his sovereigns, "are accustomed to hold fairs and markets for carrying on their commerce; it is asserted that their ships carry guns . . . the men go clothed and use bows and arrows, swords and cuirasses, and on shore they have horses, which they use in battle." All this, which sounds like an exaggerated and fanciful rumor of Mexico and Peru, was to be seen in the country of Ciguare, which Columbus understood was only a ten days' journey from the river Ganges. If he could only find the strait, he imagined he could easily reach the realms of the Great Khan. Neither disappointment nor experience could shake his firm belief in the nearness of the Indies to the lands of his discovery. At the West Indies he deemed Cathay near; now he still thought but a brief journey separated him therefrom.

On the 2nd of November the admiral came to a cultivated country, where there were fruit trees, Indian corn, vegetables, and pineapples. The harbor was so beautiful

that he gave it its present name of Portobello. It lies a little east of the proposed canal. The weather, however, soon became dreadful and continued so for many days; but whenever the elements permitted, Columbus pressed on, though his vessels were now honeycombed by the tropical worm known as the teredo and were finally kept afloat only by constant bailing. At last human endurance could stand no more. The sailors began to think that some evil spell rested upon their attempts to advance, and the admiral was constrained to give orders to return to the land of Veragua, where, it was believed, wonderful mines of gold awaited their coming. He had not found the strait; he must not return to Spain empty-handed.

It was on the 5th of December that he turned back. And now the wind, as if controlled by a perverse fairy, began to blow from the west still harder than it had previously blown from the east. A tropical storm such as Columbus had never before experienced, burst upon them and nearly wrecked the crazy crafts. "Never," he says in one of his letters, "was sea so high, so terrific, so covered with foam. It seemed to be as a sea of blood, seething like a cauldron on a mighty fire. Never did the sky look more dreadful. During one day and one night it burned like a furnace, and every instant I looked to see if my masts and my sails were not destroyed; for the lightnings flashed with such alarming fury that we all thought the ships must have been consumed. And the rain was like a repetition of the Deluge."

In spite of it all, however, he came, on the day of the Epiphany, to a little river near the river Veragua. To it he gave the name of Belen or Bethlehem, and on its banks he found a village of Indians. These told him that there were mines on the banks of the Veragua, and thither the Spaniards took their way. They found no mines; but obtained twenty plates of gold in exchange for some trifles. Bartholomew now visited the cacique of a village named Quibian, and, after an exchange of presents, explored the

surrounding country. Everywhere there seems to have been evidence of gold; for the natives wore great plates of it suspended from their necks, and in one place the Spaniards gathered bits of it from about the roots of the trees. The *Adelantado* was taken up to the summit of a tall hill, where he beheld a country of great extent and according to his guides abounding in gold. The great South Sea was only fifteen leagues beyond, but of this he could catch no glimpse.

Columbus was enchanted by the gold that was brought to him and by the wonderful reports of his lieutenants. He afterwards wrote to the Spanish monarchs that Veragua was certainly the Aurea Chersonesus from which the gold was procured for building the Temple of Solomon. "Gold," he writes in a kind of rhapsody, "is the most precious of all commodities; gold constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it has all he needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from purgatory and restoring them to the enjoyment of paradise."

To take possession of this Eldorado was now the besetting thought of the admiral. A settlement must be made on the banks of the Belen river which should hold the land until the admiral himself could sail back to Spain and procure the necessary supplies and men to make it permanent. His brave brother the *Adelantado* agreed to undertake this dangerous experiment with eighty picked men.

At first the prospect seemed fair. Houses of wood with roofs of palm leaves were hastily constructed; one caravel stored with ammunition and food was kept for the use of the colonists. The supplies from the ships, though much injured by storm and long keeping, could be supplemented by the maize, the plantains, the cocoanuts, the pineapples, and the bananas of the neighborhood. The Indians, it was thought, would prove as friendly as they had been in the past and would succor the colonists in time of distress.

Here the Spaniards found themselves wofully mistaken. No sooner did the once friendly Cacique of Quibian discover that the strangers were preparing to occupy his lands

than he decided to gather his warriors and expel them from the country. He made his plans with all secrecy, but his preparations excited the suspicions of Diego Mendez, one of Columbus's devoted followers. Landing with the consent of Columbus, he reconnoitered the Indian camp, and his suspicions were confirmed by discovering that about one thousand of the savages had been assembled as if for a hostile expedition. After reporting this fact to the admiral, Mendez visited the camp of the cacique, who was confined to his house by a slight wound, and was received in so suspicious a manner that he hurried back with ill tidings, which were confirmed by an Indian interpreter friendly to the Spaniards. The Spaniards not only took all precautions against a surprise, but the *Adelantado* boldly decided to carry the war into the enemy's camp. Picking out some seventy men from the crews he marched hurriedly to the Indian village, and taking the cacique unawares, he captured him and his whole household. Securely bound the Indian chief was hurried down the river towards the ships, but in the darkness of the night, he leaped overboard and contrived, by skilful diving, to make his escape. The booty carried off by the Spaniards, consisting of gold bracelets, anklets and coronets, proved to be worth in money of the present day about one thousand two hundred dollars.

Hoping that though the cacique had escaped, he would be intimidated by the capture of his family, Columbus secured his captives on board one of the caravels as hostages for the good behavior of the tribe, and made his preparations to sail for Spain. Passing with difficulty the bar of the river he anchored a few miles from the shore and awaited a favorable wind. The delay was a fortunate event for the colony he had left behind. While the ships swung at anchor the admiral sent a boat's crew ashore to obtain a further supply of wood and fresh water. A frightful scene met their eyes when they reached the neighborhood of the settlement. Lulled into a false security the Spaniards had taken no precautions against an attack on the part of the savages. The

cacique, infuriated by the loss of his wives and children, gathered a number of his warriors about him and fell upon the settlement with savage fury. The javelins and arrows of the Indians pierced the thatch and the crevices of the cabins, and the Spaniards, though taken by surprise, defended themselves with desperate bravery. The superiority of their weapons, together with a fierce bloodhound that they let loose against the attacking party finally put the Indians to flight; but not until one of the Spaniards had been killed and eight, including the *Adelantado,* had been wounded.

The ship boat had been a witness of a portion of this conflict, and when it was over the crew decided to ascend the river in search of fresh water. They were warned that this would be a dangerous venture, but with the usual foolhardy attitude of Spaniards towards the Indians they persisted in their purpose. They had hardly gone a league above the village when they were beset on all sides by a band of yelling demons who approached in light canoes and hurled showers of javelins into their midst. In the confusion of the attack the Spaniards seem to have lost their wits and defended themselves so poorly that they were all slain except one, who diving overboard managed to reach the bank and to bring the dreadful news to the settlement below. This last misfortune broke the spirit of the settlers, and in spite of the protests and remonstrances of the *Adelantado,* they clamored to be allowed to take the caravel and to join the admiral in the offing. The river, however, was now so shallow that the caravel could not pass the bar, while the surf without was so violent that it did not seem possible to send a boat out to the little fleet. The bodies of the boat's crew came floating ominously down the river, and the savages soon followed to renew their attacks upon their dispirited enemies. The latter, hoping to defend themselves better, moved down to the seashore. Here hasty fortifications were raised, and firearms kept the savages at a distance.

We may well imagine the anxiety of Columbus when days passed and the boat sent on shore failed to return. He was

greatly disturbed, moreover, by the extraordinary actions of his Indian prisoners. These were confined in the forecastle, and as some of the crew slept upon the hatch, there seemed no chance of their escaping. One night the prisoners, piling up a lot of ballast just under the hatch, mounted on one another's shoulders, and by a concerted action, burst open the covering of the forecastle and hurled the sleeping sailors across the deck. Thus freed, the most agile of the warriors leaped overboard and escaped. The rest were secured and thrust back into their prison with a guard over them. When, however, they were inspected the next morning, not one was alive. In desperation they had all hanged or strangled themselves with cords or ends of rope.

The escape of the warriors boded no good to the little colony, and the admiral was glad to accept the offer of one of his pilots, who volunteered to go in a boat as far as the point at which the surf began and then to swim to the shore. Having made this hazardous trip and returned in safety the pilot reported that the settlers were determined to abandon the country and declared that if they were not taken on board, they would embark as soon as possible in the caravel that had been left them.

For nine days more, however, the stormy weather prevented communication with the land; then with the coming of calmer weather, which was foretold to Columbus in a vision, a raft of boats was made, and all the men, with the supplies, were safely transported on board the caravels.

Joyful as men escaping from almost certain death, the colonists were borne away with the first favorable breeze from that dismal shore; while the admiral promised himself that with a more propitious day, he would yet plant a colony in the land of Veragua.

Coasting back towards South America he sailed as far as the Gulf of Darien, and then turned his course towards Hispaniola. From the island of Jamaica, he inscribed a long letter to his sovereigns, in which after describing the lands he had taken possession of in their names, he added:

"The people who have sailed with me have passed through incredible toil and danger, and I beseech your Highnesses since they are poor, to pay them promptly and to be gracious to each of them according to their respective merits; for I can safely assert that to my belief they are the bearers of the best news that ever was carried to Spain."

## CHAPTER II

### *SETTLEMENT*

In the preceding chapter the fame of discovering Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and a portion of Panama has been given to Columbus. The great admiral has a just claim to these laurels. It is true that John Fiske in his *Discovery of America,* relying on certain statements of the Spanish historians Gomara and Oviedo, who wrote a generation or two after the event, has assigned the finding of the Honduras coast to the captains Pinzon and Solis, but in depriving Columbus of the credit of the discovery, Fiske is not supported by more recent students of this period. Professor Bourne has shown conclusively that the most trustworthy contemporary authorities, Las Casas and Fernando Columbus, assert that the voyage of Pinzon and Solis was undertaken *after* the fourth voyage of Columbus.

A portion of the coast visited on this voyage by Columbus, however, had already been discovered not long before, though it is not certain that Columbus had been informed of the fact. In 1500-2 Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Cosa had made a voyage to South America, and towards the close of their expedition, had sailed along the coast of Panama and Veragua as far as Nombre de Dios, near the present town of Aspinwall. In their company was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who some years later was to be the first European to gaze upon the waters of what is now the Pacific Ocean.

The opportunity to accomplish this important task came to Balboa in connection with the expeditions of Ojeda and Nicuesa to found permanent settlements on the mainland. Ojeda was a former companion of Columbus, while Nicuesa was a resident of Hispaniola, wealthy and well-born. Excited by the voyages of Columbus and of Pinzon and Solis, these two men sought and received each the grant of a province in the New World: Ojeda, the province of Urabá, lying east of the River Darien, and Nicuesa, the Isthmus of Panama and the coast of Veragua as far north as Cape Gracias á Dios in Honduras. Ojeda sailed from San Domingo with four vessels, three hundred men, and twelve mares. Nicuesa, who had furnished himself at the expense of his fortune, had five vessels and six hundred and fifty men. The start of the two adventurers was made in the month of November, 1509.

Ojeda, who was the first to set out, soon reached the port of Cartagena. Here he managed to antagonize the Indians by making a fierce attack upon one of their villages and capturing a number of the savages. Pursuing some fugitives in a disorderly fashion, he and his men were suddenly surrounded by a band of savages who, by the use of poisoned arrows, succeeded in killing seventy or more of the Spaniards, Ojeda and one companion alone surviving. When Ojeda was finally discovered hiding in a wood, by a searching party from his ships, his shield showed the marks of three hundred arrows. Infuriated against the Indians, the vanquished commander now joined his forces with those of Nicuesa, whose fleet had arrived upon the coast, and the two captains took a terrible vengeance, burning men, women, and children in their cabins.

Ojeda now parted from Nicuesa, and sailed away to the Gulf of Urabá. Here he spent some time in seeking the River Darien, which had been fixed as the boundary line between his possessions and those of Nicuesa. Though this river flows into the Gulf of Urabá, he was unable to locate it, and choosing a spot on the eastern side, he founded the

town of San Sebastian. The settlement did not prosper. The Indians were hostile, and with their poisoned arrows proved themselves formidable antagonists. On one occasion they decoyed the commander from his town by a feigned attack, and shot him through the thigh with a poisoned arrow. He must certainly have died, had he not applied an heroic remedy. Ordering two plates of iron to be brought to a white heat, he told the surgeon he must apply them or be hanged. Enduring the fearful burning with grim fortitude, he gradually recovered from the wound.

Famine now began to harass the colony, and in spite of some supplies purchased from an opportune vessel that came into port, the settlers first murmured, and then threatened to desert the town. Ojeda resolved to seek help from Hispaniola and set sail for that island. Before his departure, he informed the colonists that if he did not return in fifty days, they might scatter whithersoever they wished. He never saw San Sebastian again. After a long and terrible voyage, he reached San Domingo, but only to die there in extreme poverty.

The lieutenant whom Ojeda left in charge of the colony was Francisco Pizarro, later celebrated as the Conqueror of Peru. When the fifty days had elapsed, Pizarro found his men resolved to desert the town, but as they were too numerous to get on board the two vessels that were left, they lingered on until hunger and the attacks of the Indians had sufficiently reduced their numbers. Then, six months after the founding of the town, they crowded on board and set sail. One vessel, struck, it was supposed, by a large fish, went down; but the other under the command of Pizarro, reached Cartagena. Here he met two vessels commanded by a lawyer named Enciso, who was bringing reinforcements to the colony, but who had left San Domingo before Ojeda had arrived. With him was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, determined to try his fortunes once more on Terra Firma. He had been farming in Hispaniola, but so unsuccessfully that he was overwhelmed with debts. As there

was a severe law forbidding debtors to leave the island, he stowed himself away in a barrel and had himself conveyed on board of one of Enciso's vessels. When the ship was well at sea, he burst out one day to the great astonishment and disgust of the lawyer. However, such bold adventurers were scarce, and Balboa, not without some threats of landing him on a desert island, was permitted to remain. When Enciso heard the story of the colonists, he at first gave no credence to it, and was disposed to treat them as deserters. Even when he was convinced that they had received Ojeda's license to leave, he showed his commission from Ojeda as Alcalde Mayor, and insisted that they should all return to San Sebastian under his command. Murmuring loudly the colonists set sail for the town they had so gladly deserted. As they drew near to San Sebastian, Enciso's own vessel struck on a rock and went to pieces. All on board were saved, but most of the provisions and all the cattle were lost. Worse still, when a landing was made, it was discovered that the Indians had burned the town. It was now the old story over again: a precarious supply of food and poisoned arrows darting from every thicket. Discontent was rife. Pizarro and his men clamored to be allowed to move on. Now was the chance of Vasco Nuñez. Rising up among them, he said: "I remember coming along this coast some years ago with Rodrigo de Bastidas, and as we entered this gulf we landed on the western side and saw a village on the other bank of a large river, and a country abounding in food, and the people of that country used no poison on their arrows."

Balboa was at this time about thirty-five years of age, a man of most attractive exterior, strong, handsome, and of winning manners. His words were received with applause. "All," says the historian Las Casas, "not doubting the words of Vasco Nuñez, agreed that they should immediately seek out the river and the village of which he had spoken." It was the river called by the Indians the Darien, and on its banks the Spaniards found the village, which was

inhabited by a numerous band of Indians. The arrival of the strangers was not to the liking of the Indians, whose disposition was quickly made apparent, for no sooner had Cemaco, the cacique of this tribe, perceived the intention of the Spaniards to settle in that region than he gathered together some five hundred warriors and prepared to give battle. Enciso likewise prepared for the conflict. Calling out his warriors and forcing every one to swear that he would not turn his back upon the enemy, he vowed that if God gave him the victory, he would name the town in honor of the Virgin and build a church to the worship of Santa Maria de la Antigua, a famous image of Seville. When the battle began, victory quickly declared itself on the side of the Spaniards. Balboa was right in declaring that the Indians of this region did not use poison-tipped arrows; and the sharp weapons and splendid discipline of the strangers soon put them to flight. The rewards of victory were most welcome to the victors. There were cotton goods and gold for the avaricious, while the surrounding fields furnished a bountiful supply of provisions. The gold ornaments found secreted nearby were valued at ten thousand castellanos. Amid all this plenty Enciso founded the town of Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien.

With an exaggerated opinion of his own importance and with too great a respect for the technicalities of the law, Enciso soon became unpopular, and a strong faction was formed against him. Among the many regulations that he issued for the government of the colonists, the most exasperating was one forbidding any private person to traffic with Indians for gold. Vasco Nuñez, heading the opposition, now declared that when the colony moved across the river Darien, it entered the territory of Nicuesa, and that Enciso, as the representative of Ojeda, had no rights in the premises. This was fighting the lawyer with his own weapons, and the nonplussed alcalde mayor had no satisfactory answer to make. Whereupon the adherents of Vasco Nuñez, who had been winning friends ever since he

suggested the removal to Darien, now elected him and a person named Zamudío to be alcaldes; others of the colonists still clung to Enciso, while still another faction favored Nicuesa.

While this factional fight was still on, the colonists one day heard the report of a gun. It proved to be a signal shot from one of two vessels that were bringing supplies for Nicuesa's province of Castilla del Oro (a new name for Veragua). The captain, whose name was Colmenares, had been seeking Nicuesa along the coast, and his arrival at Darien with a ship of bounty strengthened the faction of that proprietor so much that the colonists decided to send deputies with the vessels who should invite Nicuesa to come and be their governor. They found it impossible to agree upon any one in their midst: it would be best, perhaps, to choose an outsider, especially if this outsider were the proprietor of the province and could summon to his aid ships laden with supplies.

But what had become of Nicuesa? His disasters had been still greater than those of his rival Ojeda. The details of his wanderings, as told by two of the old chroniclers, are conflicting. As he was sailing, however, from Cartagena to his province of Veragua, his vessel became separated by a storm from the others. While he was seeking them his caravel went to pieces on a sandbank, and only a boat was left to transport him and his crew. This boat nearly proved his ruin. For after wading through wretched swamps for days, he decided to use the boat for a short cut across a stretch of water to a promontory. By repeated trips the crew were all transferred, only to find that they had landed on a desert island. When this was discovered four of the seamen seized the boat and disappeared during the night. To those that were left soon came all the horrors of famine. Some went mad and crawled about on all fours, seeking food; many perished miserably. Such would soon have been the fate of all, had not their eyes been gladdened one day by the sight of a sail. The men who had escaped

in the boat had found the other vessels, and a rescue party had been sent in search of the governor.

Going on board, Nicuesa and such of his men as were left sailed along the coast until they reached the river Belen. Here, in the very locality that had been so fatal to the success of Columbus, were all that were left of the ships that had sailed from Cartagena, but many men and all the provisions had perished. Soured by his misfortunes, Nicuesa showed the meanness of a petty spirit. He arrested and threw into chains the captain of the vessels on the ground that he had not been diligent enough in his search. Then he laid heavy burdens on the rest, sending them on hard journeys in search of food, and showing no consideration for their sufferings. So great was the famine among them, relates Las Casas, that some thirty of them, while out foraging, having chanced upon a dead Indian, turned cannibal, and ate the body. As the flesh was already putrescent, not one of them survived.

The only hope of the colony seemed to lie in moving on. Accordingly the caravel and two brigantines were loaded with men, and they proceeded along the coast until Portobello was reached. Here they landed for food, but twenty men having been slain by the Indians, the rest pushed wearily on until they came to another port. "In the name of God," cried Nicuesa, "let us stay here," and Nombre de Dios is the name of the port to this day. Here they managed to build a little fort in December, 1510. Of the seven hundred and eighty-five men who had sailed from Hispaniola, only one hundred had survived. It was not long before even this number, wasted by famine and decimated by the attacks of the savages, was reduced to seventy weak and wretched creatures, too feeble even to act as sentinels. It looked as if only a miracle could save them, and what seemed a miracle to their superstitious minds, did save them. One morning their eyes were gladdened by the sight of the vessels of Colmenares, which, sailing along the coast, had discovered them. Nicuesa, the whilom courtier, now "in a

manner dried up with extreme hunger, filthy and horrible to behold," threw himself with tears in his eyes, at the feet of his deliverer.

With a little good sense on the part of the governor all might now have gone well with him. He had ample supplies for present needs, and the deputies from Darien waited on him with an invitation to assume the governorship of their settlement. A kind of Nemesis, however, seemed to pursue the unfortunate Nicuesa. He disgusted the deputies by announcing that as soon as he assumed control at Darien he intended to deprive the colonists of all the gold they had obtained from the Indians. The deputies, moreover, learned from the captain of the vessels, whom Nicuesa had put in chains, what an ungrateful tyrant their new governor was likely to be. When they returned to Darien, therefore, on a caravel which Nicuesa sent to announce his coming, they endeavored in every way to dissuade the colonists from receiving the new governor. In this they were heartily seconded by Vasco Nuñez, who hoped to obtain the highest office for himself.

When, therefore, Nicuesa finally reached the port of Darien, he found Vasco Nuñez and a number of armed men drawn up on the shore. He had evidently expected a hearty welcome. What was his astonishment when he was informed by the procurator of the village that he would not be permitted to land. At first he was speechless with dismay; then he stammered out: "Gentlemen, you invited me to come hither; I come at your call. Suffer me, then to land that we may talk the matter over and come to some agreement." But the men would listen to no such proposal, and he was forced to lie off for the night. When he returned on the morrow he was invited to land, but no sooner had he set foot on shore than his opponents made a rush to take him prisoner, and only by fleetness of foot did he make his escape. Vasco Nuñez, with true magnanimity, protested against the indignities offered to the unhappy governor, and tried to protect him from insult. But

the colonists were determined not to receive him, and having by specious promises, gotten Nicuesa into their hands, they compelled him to take passage with some of his adherents on board a wretched brigantine. He left the inhospitable shores of Darien March 1, 1511, and neither he nor the vessel was ever heard of again. Thus disaster and death overtook both the governors who had sailed from Hispaniola under such auspicious omens to found permanent settlements on Terra Firma.

## CHAPTER III

### *THE DISCOVERY OF THE SOUTH SEA*

With the departure of Nicuesa, there was a fine opportunity for a man of ability to rise up and, by dominating the various factions of Darien, make himself the real leader. The frank, bold disposition of Vasco Nuñez, coupled with his ambition to rule, indicated him as the natural chief, and he was not slow in embarking on the "tide that leads to fortune."

His first act was to invite some of Nicuesa's men who had remained at Nombre de Dios to come over and join their countrymen at Antigua. This invitation was gladly accepted, and the settlement, swelled by the accession, numbered two hundred and fifty men. His next step was to rid himself of the leaders of the opposition. Enciso was still fuming and fussing about his legal rights. So Nuñez, combining forces for the nonce with Zamudío, the other alcalde, accused the lawyer of exercising authority in the colony without a license from the king. Whatever weight this charge may have had, it was preposterous when brought by the two alcaldes, who had no legal standing themselves, unless we suppose that in the forests of Terra Firma civil law had been supplanted by natural law. However, to accuse Enciso was to convict him. His goods were confiscated, and he was kept a close prisoner until he agreed to leave the country. Nuñez then turned his persuasive powers upon Zamudío, and showing him how dangerous it would

be to permit Enciso to prefer charges against them at the Court of Spain, finally induced him to set off for that country to protect their several interests. With these two troublous elements removed, Nuñez was free to pursue his own policy. But he by no means underrated the dangers and responsibilities of his office. "No one need hope to rule this land," he wrote to the king, "and sit or sleep; for if he sleep, he will never wake. Day and night I think only of your majesty's interests. In every expedition I lead my men, and with truthful example and kind treatment of the natives, seek to bring into favor your majesty's government in these parts."

This loyalty to the king was, of course, not inconsistent with his intention to advance his own interests. He must have felt that now that he had allowed Enciso to escape to Spain—though what else he could have done, it is not easy to say—he must hasten as much as possible to feather his own nest. Recognizing the magic power of gold, he intrusted a large sum to Valdivia, his regidor, and hurried him off to Hispaniola, there to win the good-will of the governor, Diego Columbus, son of the admiral. In this Valdivia was entirely successful; he was absent six months, but he brought back to Balboa a commission to act as lieutenant in the province. If Balboa could not obtain a commission from King Ferdinand, this was the next best thing. While waiting for Valdivia, he planned bold deeds that would condone all past offences and win the favor of the king.

Assuming the title of governor, he prepared for a campaign against the Indians. Having learned that Careta, chief of the neighboring province of Coiba, was rich in gold and maize, he sent thither Pizarro with six men. As they proceeded on their way, Cemaco with four hundred braves fell upon them with savage fury. Incased in mail, Pizarro and his men seem to have cut through their adversaries as the knights of Europe were accustomed to cut through a band of peasants. It is related by Herrera that after the

fight one hundred and fifty Indians lay eviscerated upon the field, while only one Spaniard was wounded.

As Pizarro returned to report this opposition, the governor himself took command and started in pursuit of the Indians. They had fled. After a fruitless search Balboa returned. But the attempt to find Careta was not to end thus.

Two men who had fled from one of Nicuesa's ships to avoid punishment, had taken refuge with this very cacique and had been most hospitably received. They now appeared on the coast, naked and painted like Indians, and informed those Spaniards who were on their way from Nombre de Dios to Antigua that if Balboa would come to the village of Careta, they would betray the chief and all his treasure into his hands.

It is hard to believe that so magnanimous a man as Balboa had proved himself to be would consent to profit by such treachery; but he seems to have seized the opportunity with avidity. Marching with one hundred and thirty men to the village of the chief, he demanded of Careta provisions sufficient to fill his ships. The Indian responded politely that he would give the Spaniards of his store, but that being at war with his inveterate enemy Ponca, his people had had no time to cultivate their fields and that his own supply was but small. Pretending satisfaction with this answer, the Spaniards retired, but returning at night, they attacked the village on three sides, and with the aid of the false friends of Careta, they destroyed the town and carried the chief and his family away to Antigua. When they reached that settlement, Careta made an eloquent appeal for liberty. "Take my gold," he cried, "and accept my daughter as a hostage, but let me go free; for I have not wronged you in any way." The beauty of the girl had already made an impression on the heart of Balboa, and his feelings were heartily reciprocated. She became his wife after the Indian fashion, and proved as faithful to his interests as Marina, his Mexican wife, to Cortés. Indeed her fidelity to him eventually caused his ruin.

Having concluded a compact with Careta by which it was agreed that he should join the Indian chief in a war against Ponca and that Careta should furnish the Spaniards with supplies, Balboa allowed his new allies to take their departure. The compact, however, was not lost sight of; for, soon after, their combined forces crushed the unfortunate Ponca and laid waste his lands.

And now a dramatic and far-reaching incident was to occur in the career of Balboa. Having learned that there was adjoining the lands of Careta, a rich and powerful cacique, whose army numbered three thousand warriors, Balboa established friendly relations with him, and paid him a visit. The chief received him with much ceremony and led him to his palace. This building was one hundred and fifty paces long and eighty in breadth; it contained cellars, granaries, and living rooms, built with so much skill that the Spaniards began to think they were approaching the confines of India.

One of the seven sons of the chief now came forward, and wishing to conciliate the strangers, presented Balboa with seventy slaves and four thousand ounces of gold. The Spaniards greedily seized the treasure, and having put aside one-fifth for the king, began to squabble over the division of the rest among themselves. The eldest son of the chief, Sanciaco by name, regarded the ignoble scramble with dignified contempt for awhile, and then drawing near, he struck the scales from their hands, scattering the gold on all sides. "Why, O Christians," he exclaimed, "do you quarrel over so small a thing? If you value gold so highly that to obtain it you harass peaceful nations and endure great hardships, I will show you a province in which you may get all you desire, but to reach it you must be more numerous than you are. You need a thousand warriors to contend with the powerful kings whom you will meet. This province is distant a six days' journey from here on the other side of those mountains, where there is an open sea like this, on which sail ships no smaller than yours."

Some historians believe that the Indian speaker was referring to the riches to be found among the Incas, but this seems by no means certain. Eldorado was always described by the Indians, without doubt purposely, as existing some leagues further in the wilderness.

However this may be, the speech made a great impression upon the minds of Balboa and his followers. Now was the opportunity to discover new lands and to rival Columbus himself. "God has revealed the secrets of this land to me only," he wrote in January, 1513, "and for this I never shall cease to thank him."

Remembering what the Indian had said about the necessity of a larger force, he sent Valdivia to Hispaniola, with fifteen thousand pesos of gold, as the king's share, and with a letter to the governor, asking him to raise one thousand men to aid in the discovery of the great sea. But a terrible fate was to overtake the messenger. His vessel was wrecked in a storm on the coast of Yucatan, and all the treasure was lost. Valdivia himself and some of his companions, cast upon the Maya coast, were seized by the natives, sacrificed to the gods, and their roasted limbs devoured by their captors.

After waiting in vain for their return, Balboa sent two of his faithful friends in the only remaining vessel to Spain, there to plead his cause with the king. Soon after their departure, however, two vessels arrived from Hispaniola, bringing him provisions and one hundred and fifty men sent by the governor. But best of all there came a commission, appointing him captain-general of the province. This was sent by Pasamonte, the treasurer of Hispaniola, who was a favorite of the king, and was entitled to grant such favors.

Just as Balboa was at the acme of joy over this title and the authority that it gave him, he received a private communication through the authorities at Hispaniola that the king had been prejudiced against him by the efforts of the lawyer Enciso, and that a new governor was to be appointed to supersede him.

While he was waiting for this dreaded arrival, he must accomplish the great deed he had been so long contemplating. There was no time now to wait for further aid. Assembling some two hundred men with Indian slaves to carry the burdens, and bloodhounds to intimidate the savages, he set out in September, 1513, to find "the other sea."

This first part of the journey was by sea to the province of Careta. Here he landed. Due southwest of him lay the Gulf of San Miguel, reducing the breadth of the Isthmus to fifty miles. To cross to the Pacific at this point is even in modern times a stupendous task. It was attempted in 1853 from the opposite side by the crew of an English vessel, but the task was given up in despair. The leader of the expedition, as quoted by Bancroft, thus describes his experiences: "We spent fifteen days in performing a distance of little more than twenty-six miles, having to force our slow and laborious path through forests that seemed to stretch from the Pacific to the Atlantic shores. The trees, of stupendous size, were matted with creepers and parasitical vines, which hung in festoons from tree to tree, forming an almost impenetrable net-work, and obliging us to hew open a passage with our axes every step we advanced."

It was through this almost impassable tropical jungle that the Spaniards began their journey on the 6th of September. Careta, the father of his Indian bride, had received Balboa with due hospitality; but the chief Ponca, into whose province he came on the second day, fled from his approach. Thinking it wise to conciliate rather than to pursue, Balboa enticed him from his hiding place, gave him precious gifts of looking-glasses, hatchets, and hawkbells, and in return he received a present of gold, wrought and unwrought, with guides for the passes through the mountains.

The mountains now lay before them, and a hostile tribe disputed their passage. Their chief, whose name was Porque, assembled a thousand warriors, and marching to meet the strangers, uttered fierce threats. When these were

calmly received and the Spaniards continued to advance, he fell upon them, prepared to annihilate them. Alas for him, he had not counted upon the strange weapons he was to encounter. The terrible strangers, with their cry of "Santiago, y á ellos!" seemed to be masters of the thunder and the lightning; for their firearms made a dreadful noise and did deadly work, while their sharp weapons carved the naked bodies of the Indians as beeves are cut up in the shambles. Porque soon lay dead upon the field and around him were six hundred of his warriors.

Leaving his sick and wounded in the village of the vanquished, Balboa with the rest of his followers, proceeded up the mountain side, cutting his way with sword through the thick undergrowth. When he was nearly at the summit, the guides pointed out a spot from which the sea could be clearly perceived. Leaving his men, the captain-general reached the spot alone, and gazed out upon the waters that stretched before him. A great joy filled his soul, and when his men had joined him, they all fell upon their knees and poured out their thanks to God. Then in the name of his sovereigns he took possession of the Southern Sea, with its islands, and firm land, and all the shores washed by its waters. The date was St. Martin's day, the 25th of September. The poet Keats, though he confused the discoverer with Cortés, has commemorated the event in deathless rhyme:

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken;
Or like stout Cortés [Balboa] when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific,—and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise,—
Silent upon a peak in Darien."

The discovery of the South Sea was, of course, a far more significant event than Balboa dreamed it to be. It was not until some years later when Magellan crossed the ocean and revealed its vast extent, that the discovery was understood in its true light, and then Balboa was no longer living.

At the moment of discovery his imagination did not span the waters before him or view them as separating two great continents. His attitude is discovered clearly in the words he addressed to his men, as they are recorded by the historian Las Casas: "Behold, gentlemen and my sons, how our wishes are satisfied and our labors ended. And of this we should be certain; for just as the son of Comegre told the truth concerning this sea which we now gaze upon, so I believe we shall realize all that he told us of the incomparable treasures to be found on its shores, and with the aid of God and the Blessed Mary we shall enjoy the same."

And his men applauded wildly; for they all longed to be rich. "Even as Hannibal," says Peter Martyr, "showed his soldiers Italy and the Alpine promontories, so Balboa, more ferocious, promised his associates untold wealth."

After the ceremony of the *prise de possession,* Balboa decided to descend the mountains and visit the shores of the sea which he had just beheld. Making their way with some difficulty through the territory of a cacique named Chiapes, the Spaniards finally reached the waters of a gulf, to which, as it was the day of St. Michael, they gave the name of San Miguel. Wading out into the rising tide, Balboa, armed *cap-à-pie,* his drawn sword in one hand and the banner of Castile and Leon in the other, now took "corporeal actual possession" of these seas and lands.

In his explorations of the lands about the gulf, Balboa was delighted to find one tribe whose chief, Tumaco, conciliated him with gold ornaments valued at six hundred and fourteen pesos and two hundred and forty pearls of large size. When the Indians saw the delight of the Spaniards over these latter treasures, they set to work to fish for more, and as they opened their oysters by heating them, and thus discolored the pearls, they were quickly taught another method.

From this same chief Balboa learned that the ocean and the land extended towards the south without any limits, and that there was a country of immense wealth in that

Natives' reception of Cortés: Maxixcatzin and the nobles of Tlaxcala present to him a nosegay of roses as a token of welcome. Cortés is sitting in the palace, and Marina standing by him, while the Castilian army and allies are seen behind them. In the foreground are shown gifts of food, forage, etc. Bears a legend in the old Mexican tongue which explains the picture. *From the Lienzo de Tlaxcala.*

direction, where the inhabitants employed beasts of burden. To prove his statement the chief made of clay a model of the llama, which looked like a camel. "And this was the second indication," says Las Casas, "which Vasco Nuñez received of the riches and the country of Peru."

Soon after this Balboa set out on his return to Darien. Pursuing a somewhat different route, and meeting with several new tribes from whom he extracted the usual tribute of gold, he reached Darien on the 19th of January, 1514. Here all the inhabitants turned out to do him honor, who had not only discovered the South Sea, but who had brought back such a quantity of gold, such rich pearls, and so many Indian slaves. Having put aside the king's share of all this, with two hundred pearls as a special gift to his majesty, Balboa generously divided the booty even among those who had remained behind. A long letter was also written to the king, describing the discoveries he had made, and proudly recording the fact that in all his battles with the Indians he had not lost a single man. This letter, from which Balboa expected so much, was entrusted to Arbolanche, a faithful friend, who in the month of March set sail for Spain.

The little settlement now began to enjoy life. Sweet was the rest after such labors. The rich soil brought forth abundantly, and the once-dreaded famine now seemed only an evil dream. But the peaceful life was soon to be rudely disturbed by news from Spain.

## CHAPTER IV

### *THE GOVERNMENT OF PEDRARIAS*

It will be remembered that Arbolanche, the bearer of pearls and of the news of the discovery of the South Sea, did not sail from Darien until nearly two months after Balboa returned from his famous expedition. This delay, the cause of which is unknown, was fatal to the interests of Balboa. Laden with splendid gifts, Arbolanche received a royal welcome and turned the tide of court favor to Balboa's side. Unfortunately, however, the importunities of Enciso had already been only too successful.

Another governor had been sent out to Darien before the arrival of the tardy messenger. This was Pedro Arias de Avila, generally known as Pedrarias. Over seventy years of age, the new governor had won the title of El Justador, the Jouster, by the exploits of his youth, and was to gain the further title of Furor Domini among the monks of the New World. A stern, relentless old servant of the king he was. Fiske calls him "one of those two-legged tigers of whom Spain had so many at that time." It boded ill for Balboa that this stern old tyrant, with the banished Enciso as alguacil mayor, should be sent out to call him to account for his misdeeds.

The company that attended the new governor was perhaps the largest and the most important that ever left Spain for the New World. Seville was at the time filled with disbanded soldiers, who were only too eager to exchange war

on the continent of Europe for war with the weak Indian tribes of the New World, whose plunder would furnish rich booty and easy fame. Fifteen hundred men, some counted among the nobility of Spain, embarked on the expedition. If the vessels could have contained them, there would have been two thousand. Nor were the spiritual needs of the savages forgotten; Juan de Quevedo accompanied the expedition as bishop of the colony. More attention than usual, moreover, was given to the instructions governing the relations of the colonists with the Indians. The latter were to be won over to Christianity by kind treatment, by honesty, and truthfulness. Unless they attacked the Christians, no war should be waged against them. And for fear the colonists, in their desire to obtain slaves, would find aggression, as so many other colonists have found it, where there was none, the king advised that war should not be undertaken without the consent of the bishop and his clergy, who would be less moved by passion and self-interest.

In Hispaniola the peaceable Indians had been apportioned *(repartimiento)* to the Spaniards as serfs, and had been so cruelly worked that thousands of them died. To the new governor, therefore, the king gave elaborate instructions on this subject. The Indians might be used as personal servants, but must be well treated. It was preferable, however, to arrange with the chiefs to furnish a quota of their tribes, to serve the Spaniards and to be changed from time to time. If no such arrangement could be effected, the Indians must be required to pay tribute. Permission, however, was given to enslave without formality all cannibals (a corruption of Caribs or Caribales), who seem to have been regarded as the natural enemies of mankind.

At a later period the natives of Europe could base their right to dispossess the Indians of their lands upon the dictum of the great authority on international law, Vattel, who said: "The unsettled habitation of Indians in those unsettled regions cannot be counted a true and legal

possession, and the people of Europe are lawfully entitled to take possession." The Spaniards at this period, however, made no such appeal to legal technicalities. Their attitude is clearly set forth in a remarkable document, which was furnished to Pedrarias, and which he was commanded to read aloud to the Indians who did not receive him in a humble and submissive manner. It was a species of ecclesiastical "riot act." After reciting that God created heaven and earth and our first parents, it declared that He had given charge of all the nations descended from Adam to one man, St. Peter, that he should be lord and superior of all men, and that one of the pontiffs who had succeeded St. Peter as lord of the world (Alexander VI, the Borgia pope) had made donation of these islands and terra firma to the king and queen of Spain. It, therefore, called upon the natives to acknowledge the church as the ruler of the world and the high priest, the pope, and the king and the queen Dona Juana, as lords of the land by virtue of the donation. If this were duly done, then they should be received in all love and charity, and all their wives, their children, their lands, and they themselves should be free without servitude. Nor should they be compelled to turn Christians, in case they did not so desire. If, however, they failed to recognize these great sovereigns or maliciously delayed, then they should be warred against and all reduced to slavery and sold or disposed of as their highnesses might command.

This proclamation, which in Spain doubtless sounded both wise and proper, was found to be a farce, when transferred to this side of the Atlantic. No sooner, however, had Pedrarias landed on terra firma than he gave the proclamation to the historian of the expedition to be read to some Indians nearby, but the Indians made a sharp resistance to the approach of the Spaniards, and the historian, Oviedo, returned the document, saying: "My lord, it appears that the Indians will not listen to the theology of this Requisition, and that you have no one who can make them understand it. Would your honor be pleased to keep it until we

have some one of these Indians in a cage, in order that he may learn it at his leisure, and my lord bishop may explain it to him?" Whereupon the governor took it with much laughter from all who were present.

Later on, however, Enciso, who was a martinet in such matters, insisted on reading it to two caciques of a hostile disposition. "But when it was duly explained to them," says Enciso, "they replied that as to what I said about the pope being the lord of all the universe in the place of God, and giving the land to the king of Castile, the pope must have been drunk when he gave the land, for he gave what was not his; also that the king who asked for or received this gift must be some madman. And they added that if I should come to take their land, they would put my head on a stake."

While, however, the proclamation had this farcical aspect, it had also a serious one for the natives; for it justified the Spaniards in any treatment they might inflict upon those that showed any sign of resistance, and such signs of resistance were only too easy to discover. While it was perhaps intended to supplement the instructions of the king, it seems to have been used as a substitute.

After stopping a little while on the northern coast of South America, Pedrarias and his little fleet landed at Darien June 30, 1514. Having been instructed to depose Balboa and bring him to trial, the new governor immediately informed that official of his arrival. The messenger found him in undress, superintending the thatching of a roof. What thoughts passed rapidly through his brain, it is difficult to guess. There were around him four hundred and fifty men, devoted to his interests. If he dreamed of resistance the thought was quickly put aside. He gave a courteous welcome to Pedrarias, and spread before him and his men a bountiful repast of corn bread, fish, fruit, and other native products.

As soon as the new governor was settled in the town, he summoned Balboa to give a written statement of what he

had done and what he intended to do. In two days the statement was before him; it was a splendid record of successful deeds, achieved with small resources; but it was not enough. The captain-general must stand a trial for his life.

The judges before whom he was brought were the alcalde mayor and Bishop Quevedo. By his attractive manners and the use of liberal gifts of slaves and gold, he won over the bishop and perhaps also the other judge, and condoning his palpable offences, they acquitted him. Pedrarias, disgusted at the result of the criminal trial, caused a civil suit for damages to be brought against him. In this he was successful; Balboa was heavily fined for offences against Enciso and others. For a time he was even imprisoned; but his splendid services pleaded for him, and he was set free.

In the meantime, the addition of fifteen hundred men to the settlement made an unlooked for demand on the supply of food. The flour and other provisions brought by the ships were so much damaged by the sea trip that only a part of them could be used. Soon a dreadful famine, such as has overtaken so many early settlements in America, set in, and, though it is hard to believe, it is recorded that seven hundred men perished of hunger in one month. Cavaliers, clothed in silks and brocades, died like common peasants; while others, in the words of Las Casas, got down upon the ground and like cattle ate grass and such tender roots as they could find.

Such hunger and misery had the usual evil effect upon the survivors. Many of them degenerated into brutes, and in their dealings with the Indians showed a more relentless cruelty than the natives had ever before experienced.

As soon as the diminishing numbers made the food supply less inadequate, Pedrarias began to send out expeditions to gather gold and to build forts in the Indian provinces. No efforts were made to establish friendly relations even with those tribes that had been pacified by Balboa. Avarice and cruelty marked especially an expedition sent out under

Juan de Ayora. Being received in a friendly manner by a chief who thought that it was Balboa come to visit, and having eaten of a feast prepared by the Indians, Ayora, after dinner, summoned the cacique before him and demanded gold, and still more gold. All that could be found was brought to him, but enraged by the smallness of the quantity, he caused the wretched chief to be burned alive. Then foraging in the neighborhood, he collected all the gold he could, and taking ship on the coast, he disappeared and was never seen again in Darien. A fort which he had established at Santa Cruz (opposite to the town of Panama) existed for about six months, when the exasperated Indians descended upon it during the night and swept it out of existence.

On another expedition, led by Espinosa, there were obtained eighty thousand *pesos* of gold and two thousand slaves, "which," says Las Casas, "for carrying to Hispaniola, were then worth much money," but a Franciscan monk, who accompanied Espinosa, afterwards declared that he had seen with his own eyes, killed by the sword or thrown to the savage dogs, on this expedition, more than forty thousand natives. Allowing for exaggeration, the destruction of the natives in these terrible raids must have been fearful. Perhaps still more perished in the slave pens of Darien, where loaded with irons, they were huddled together for export to Hispaniola. Both the bishop and the governor, however, received their share of the slaves, and were thus persuaded to wink at the outrages committed in capturing them. Even the bloodhounds, who pursued the fugitives and played an important part in the battles, received a portion which was appropriated by their masters.

In spite of the treasure brought in, Pedrarias did not feel that he was meeting with much success. His expeditions were winning for him the undying hatred of the Indians, and it seemed impossible to make any permanent settlements outside of the one in which he resided. Oviedo, the historian, wishing, he said, to live in a country more secure for

his conscience and his life, sailed away to Spain, after receiving instructions from the governor to report the covetousness and insolence of the bishop, and from the bishop to tell the king how avaricious and inconstant the governor was, and what an excellent servant of the king was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

In the meantime Balboa, who was naturally disliked by the governor, had been left without employment, and had become as discontented and unhappy as so active and aggressive a spirit could well be. Determined not to rust in idleness, he sent to Cuba for reinforcements and prepared to lead an expedition to settle the coasts of the sea he had discovered. In the meantime, however, he was urged by some of his friends to lead an expedition up the Darien river in search of a golden temple supposed to exist there. The governor, still jealous of his stalwart rival, yielded to public opinion, and appointed him leader, but only in conjunction with one of his own friends. The expedition was an utter failure. The natives attacked the Spaniards on the water, and by diving under the canoes and upsetting them, forced them to return in disgrace.

But a delightful turn of fortune was in store for Balboa. "In those days" (early in 1515), says Las Casas, "there came to Darien a certain ship which bore a royal order, by which the king granted to Vasco Nuñez the title of *Adelantado* of Coiba and Panama." Coiba was a little island on the southern coast, which Balboa had asked for because it was said to contain pearls or gold. The king had at last decided to recognize his labors and to reward him; but Las Casas adds: "Dame fortune did not neglect to raise up Balboa that later he might fall from a greater height."

Enraged that this powerful lieutenant should be given control of the rich southern coast, the governor at first decided to secrete the order and withhold it. He even hoped that he could browbeat his council into a new trial of Balboa for old offences; but he had counted without the bishop. This functionary, now an ardent admirer of Balboa,

threatened to denounce the governor at court and finally forced him to make public the royal order.

Knowing that the old man was only nursing his wrath, the bishop determined to reconcile the two rivals by an alliance. Pedrarias had several daughters, who had remained behind in Spain. The bishop urged that the eldest of these should be given in marriage to Balboa, and thus when the governor died, his son-in-law would take his place. After some demur, Pedrarias consented, while Balboa, who had an Indian wife whom he loved devotedly, likewise entered into the bargain as a matter of policy. The girl was too far away to make the question a vital one. Having thus entered into nominal friendship with his old enemy, Balboa was permitted to put into execution the boldest and most ambitious scheme yet devised by his active brain. It was nothing less than to proceed to Acla, a fort to the northwest of Darien, and cutting the timber necessary for four brigantines, to transport it across the mountains and build vessels for the exploration of the Southern Sea. It was a tremendous undertaking, but for Balboa to conceive was to execute. After the timber had been cut, he sent out companies to impress Indians for the portage. Though five hundred of them perished on the way, enough timber was transported across the mountains to build two vessels. But now it was discovered that the wood had been eaten through by worms and was useless. Another man would have despaired; for the timber on the southern side was smaller and not suited for shipbuilding. After infinite labor, however, enough was collected and two vessels were completed and launched on the ocean. Then having sailed some distance down the coast, Balboa returned to the Isle of Pearls in the Bay of Panama and prepared to build the two other vessels that he needed for more extended voyages. It was while he was delayed on this island that a fateful incident happened.

Oviedo, who had departed for Spain some time before, as we have seen, had succeeded through his representations

at court in having a high official, Lope de Sosa, appointed to supersede the hated Pedrarias. Rumors of this appointment had already reached Balboa, and one evening on the island he and some of his officers began to discuss the probable results of the advent of the new governor. "Considering the time that has elapsed since the news came that the king had appointed Lope de Sosa governor of this Terra Firma," said Balboa, "it does not seem possible that he has not arrived or that there is no news of his early arrival. If he has come, my lord Pedrarias is no longer in power, and we are defrauded of our desires, and all our labors are for naught. It appears to me, therefore, that in order to be informed of what steps we shall take, it will be well to send Captain Garavito to Acla to seek the iron and the pitch we need and to learn if the new governor is there. If he is, let Garavito return, and we shall fit out our vessels as best we can and proceed on our voyage. Whatever betide us, the governor that is, will doubtless give us a kind reception that we may aid and assist him. But if Pedrarias is still in power, he should be informed in what condition we are, and he will provide what we lack, so that we may depart on our voyage, trusting that God will make it successful."

Now it so happened that at this moment it was raining, and a sentinel took refuge under the roof of the house. Overhearing a part of the conversation, he concluded that Balboa had decided to take the ships and make the voyage on his own account. This seemed to him to be treason, and he waited for an opportunity to repeat what he had heard to Pedrarias. If the words of Balboa are correctly given by Las Casas, it is clear that he wished Pedrarias to continue in office and was loyal to their late reconciliation.

Garavito left the Isle of Pearls on his errand, but no worse person could have been chosen for such a mission. It seems that he had made advances to the Indian wife of Balboa, and learning of it the husband had given him a severe tongue-lashing. Hence he was now the bitter enemy of his commander. He had already informed Pedrarias

that Balboa was preparing to throw off his allegiance, a charge which the suspicious old man was only too ready to believe. On arriving at Acla—such is Oviedo's account—he talked so mysteriously about what he had seen on the South Sea as to cause himself to be arrested. Brought before a magistrate, he told his story, which was duly repeated to Pedrarias. About the same time Alonzo de la Puente, a man who had quarrelled with Balboa about some money matters, received information of what the sentinel believed he had heard, and this, too, was forwarded to the governor.

The rest of the story may be briefly told. Pedrarias came over to Acla, and sent a deceptive letter to his prospective son-in-law to meet him there for the discussion of some business matters. Well would it have been for Balboa had he entertained a natural suspicion of the crafty old fox, and sailed away to Peru or any other Indian country. He had less to fear from the savages than from his relentless old rival. But conscious that he had done nothing in violation of his agreement with Pedrarias, he came straightway to Acla. On the way, however, he met Pizarro, sent out with a company of soldiers to arrest him. "How now," he said to his old companion, "you were not wont, Pizarro, to come out in this fashion to meet me."

Not much time was lost in haling him once more before the licentiate Espinosa for trial. Unfortunately his friend, the bishop, had sailed away to Spain. Witnesses were brought forward; all his words from the beginning were recorded against him; even the old offences for which he had been tried before seem to have been revived. Spanish trials in those days were summary affairs. The judge declared that the prisoner had incurred the penalty of death. He added, however, that in consideration of the great services he had performed for the king in that land, his life should be spared. "No," shouted the governor in a rage; "since he has sinned, he shall die for it." So he was sentenced to have his head cut off, a crier going before him and shouting: "This is the justice which our Lord the King

and his lieutenant Pedrarias order to be done to this man, as a traitor and usurper of the lands subject to the royal crown," etc. Protesting that he had been falsely accused and that his only desire had been to serve the king like a faithful vassal, the discoverer of the South Sea bravely met his fate. He had committed many cruel and unworthy acts, but we cannot deny to his splendid efficiency our admiration or to the injustice of his end our pity. Historians have generally lamented his untimely taking off. He might easily have become the Conqueror of Peru, a task that fell into far less worthy hands, and Fiske, for one, regrets "that he could not have gone on his way like Cortés and worked out the rest of his contemplated career in accordance with the genius that was in him."

## CHAPTER V

### *THE FOUNDING OF PANAMA—THE EXPLORATION OF COSTA RICA AND NICARAGUA*

It was in the year 1517 that Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was ignominiously put to death by order of Pedrarias. When certain news of the appointment of his successor reached Darien, the old governor began to tremble in his shoes, and took every precaution to avoid responsibility for his past deeds. His wife had been with him from the first; she was now hurried off to Spain with all the gold and pearls he had been able to collect. But still, Lope de Sosa, the new governor, delayed partly by the confusion in Spain between the death of Ferdinand in 1516 and the accession of Charles V, and partly by the fact that he was governor of the Canaries, failed to appear. In fact he did not arrive until May, 1520, and scarcely had he landed when he was seized with a sudden illness and died. Concealing his satisfaction as well as he could, Pedrarias gave him a splendid funeral and continued to exercise the functions of governor.

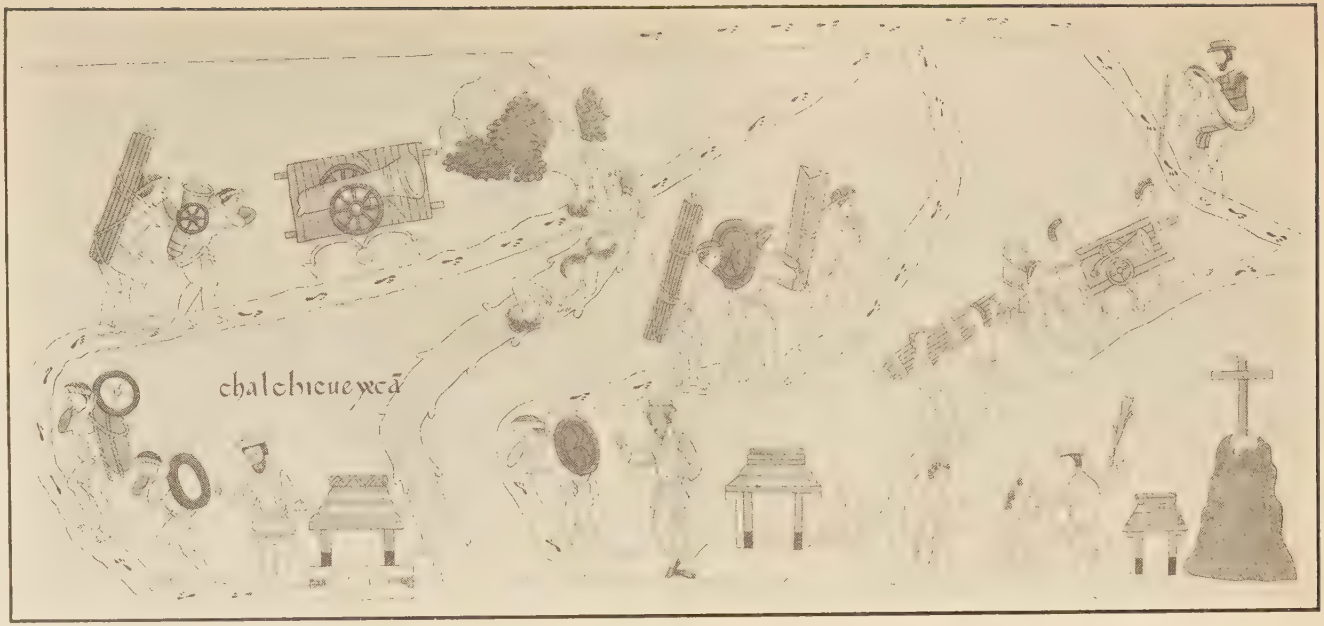
Before this event, however, Pedrarias had rewarded the services of Espinosa by giving him the place and title of Balboa on the southern coast, and had decided to do himself what he had punished Balboa for, namely, establish himself on that coast in defiance of the authority of Lope de Sosa. Here riches and power were to be obtained; De Sosa might have the rest.

In pursuance of this plan, he proposed to the Council at Antigua to abandon that site and come with him. When

this was refused, he and Espinosa gathered together all the men and provisions possible, and crossing the Isthmus, and choosing a site six miles east of the present city, they founded the city of Panama, August 15, 1519. The land around it was divided among the settlers, and each received a number of Indian slaves. In the same year Diego de Albites founded the town of Nombre de Dios, and with infinite labor and expense a way was made through the Isthmus from town to town. Two carts could pass each other upon this road. It was built, says Peter Martyr, "to the intent that they might pass over with ease to search ye secrets of either spacious sea," and he adds that it passed "through the mountains overgrown with the thick woods, never touched from all eternity."

Making Panama the base of his operations, Espinosa fitted out several plundering expeditions. One, marching a few leagues to the west, brought him a rich treasure of gold, while another, sailing one hundred and eighty leagues to the northwest, reached the present Puerto de Culebra, in Costa Rica (named for the variously colored snakes he found there), and brought back a quantity of maize and gold.

After the departure of Pedrarias, Antigua would have been left without any government save that of the council, had not the historian Oviedo returned from Spain with the titles of *veedor* or inspector and *regidor perpetuo* of Antigua. He was already writing his famous General History of the Indies. Between him and Pedrarias there was, of course, bitter enmity, and the latter, hoping to ruin him by giving him power, placed him in charge of affairs at Antigua in 1521. For a time all went well. Oviedo corrected the morals of the town, opened mines in the neighborhood, and conciliated the Indians. One incident related of him shows that, for a man of letters, he was extraordinarily practical. Gathering up the scrap iron about the town, he made five hundred hatchets and sold them to the Indians. When these became dull and the savages failed to find any means of sharpening them, the historian fitted up some grind-stones




Spaniards' treatment of the natives: Above a house is seen the Mexican name of the seacoast, where a Spaniard is loading arms, shields, etc., on the shoulders of Indians; one of whom is carrying on his back a Spaniard over a mountain. Another Spaniard is shown beating or killing an Indian. The scene takes place over the mountains of Totonacapan. *From the Lienzo de Tlaxcala.*

on a vessel, and carefully covering them so as to conceal the secret, he sailed along the coast, sharpening hatchets at the price originally paid for the implements. In this manner, it is claimed, says Bancroft, that in one voyage he gained seven thousand castellanos. Finally Pedrarias decided to give Oviedo's place to one of his friends, and the quarrel between them having become very bitter, Oviedo thought it wise to sail for Spain.

There is now a change of scene in our story of Central America. The point of interest is transferred to the regions of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, now to be explored from the southern side.

The inspiration for this expedition seems to have been given by Andrés Niño, a pilot of great energy and great ambition, who had been in the service of Balboa. Dreaming of reaching the Moluccas or Spice Islands by a voyage on the South Sea, this Niño, a typical Spanish adventurer of that day, went to Spain and petitioned the court to be allowed to use the ships of his former Captain Balboa for a search after these rich islands. Having interested in his cause Gil Gonzalez Dávila, a trusted agent of the government, and a man of high courage and excellent judgment, Niño finally found favor at court, and his prayer was granted.

An expedition was fitted out by a royal order, with Gil Gonzalez as captain-general and Niño as pilot. The expense was to be borne partly by the government and partly by the *entrepreneurs*. The governor of Castilla del Oro (Costa Rica and Panama) was ordered to deliver up the vessels built by Balboa.

This expedition reached Darien in the early part of 1520, and as Lope de Sosa had not arrived, Gonzalez had to deal with Pedrarias. This functionary, enraged at this interference with his cherished schemes, pretended compliance with the royal order, but threw every possible obstacle in the way of the explorers. Above all, he was determined not to give

up the vessels. As threats did not avail, Gonzalez took to pieces the vessels in which he had come, and transporting them across the Isthmus, rebuilt them on the other side. Such a repetition of Balboa's feat deserved success, but unfortunately he lost them in the river Balsas.

Undismayed by this disaster, he set to work, and with the unwilling aid of Pedrarias, he built four more vessels. In January, 1522, all was ready. Imagining that the Moluccas were in the northwest, he followed that route, hugging the shore so as to collect as much treasure as possible on the way and at the same time save his crazy vessels from the danger of storms.

After sailing a hundred leagues, he found three of his vessels so leaky that it was necessary to draw them up on the shore, and to send the remaining one back to Panama for pitch and other necessaries. Having ordered his pilot Niño, as soon as the ships were repaired, to coast along and wait for him in some good harbor, he himself struck into the interior of Costa Rica with one hundred men and several horses. The tropical rains set in and for fifteen days it poured so hard that the Spaniards had to take refuge in the "palace" of a friendly cacique, and when this began to sink into the mud they climbed through the roof into some neighboring trees. After many hardships they reached the coast once more and were lucky enough to find Niño and the vessels in a bay, which they named the Gulf of St. Vincent.

Leaving here some gold he had collected, and sending forward Niño again, he turned inward once more to seek other tribes. After meeting several lesser caciques, he came to one that was very powerful. His name was Nicoya, and the gulf on which he lived bears his name to this day. Gonzalez now remembered what so many Spanish commanders forgot, that every explorer was expected first of all to be a missionary. Being kindly received he expounded to the chief the principles of the Catholic faith with such success that within ten days he and six thousand of his vassals were baptized. Moreover, he presented to the Spaniards, not only

a quantity of gold, but also six gold idols a span in height, which now that he was converted he no longer cared for.

The Spaniards, having been informed that fifty leagues beyond, there was a much dreaded chief named Nicaragua, resolved to visit him. They were warned by Nicoya that their little army would melt away before the warriors of this redoubtable cacique, but after his wonderful success with Nicoya neither Gonzalez nor his men seem to have had any fear. Sending forward his interpreters he informed Nicaragua that he came as a friend, for the sole purpose of declaring to him the true faith of Christ and of urging him to obey the king of Castile. "If," he added, "you are not willing to do this, I will declare war against you."

The sage chief, having heard of the deeds of the strangers, of the sharpness of their swords, and the fierceness of their horses, sent out four lords of his court, who answered that for the sake of peace their cacique would accept the strangers' friendship and that if it seemed good to him, he would also accept their religion. And he paved the way for amicable relations by presenting his visitors with fifteen thousand castellanos of gold; for which he received gratefully a scarlet hat, a linen shirt, and some other trifles. Whereupon, after a short exhortation from a priest sent to him by Gonzalez, the chief, his family, his court, and nine thousand of his people received the Faith with great heartiness. Such is the record of the chronicler; modern historians have expressed profound doubts as to the number of the converts.

In spite of the fervor of their conversion, however, the chief and his lords declared their unwillingness to give up some of their more delightful pastimes, namely, war, dancing, and getting drunk. Dancing, they said, did no harm to any one, and as for the rest, they did not want to become women. As the Spaniards did not insist on these points, the chief, who seems to have been of a scientific turn of mind, began to ask questions of his visitors: "Had they any knowledge of the deluge which covered the earth, and was

another to take place? When and how would the sun and the moon lose their brightness? Whither went the souls of men, and what did they after their departure from the body, since men lived so short a time and souls were immortal?" He wished to know if the pope at Rome ever died as did other men, and a variety of other things. The Spaniards were astonished to hear such questions from the mouth of a half-naked barbarian; never before had they found an Indian that talked like that. But Gonzalez answered all his questions in so satisfactory a manner that he inquired privately of the interpreter whether the strangers who knew so much had descended from the sky, and whether they flew down or came on the clouds.

To give the converts their first lesson in worship, the Spaniards now planted a cross on a high mound, with steps leading to the top, and falling on their knees, and accompanied by the devout Indians, they worshipped the sacred symbol.

Nearby was a large lake of fresh water, the present Lake of Nicaragua. Gonzalez drank of its waters, and as it was not far from the South Sea, he supposed it had an outlet on that side. But his pilots assured him that it opened into the North Sea (by the San Juan river), which fact interested him greatly. "If this is true," he wrote, "it is a great discovery; for the distance from one sea to the other is but two or three leagues of a very level road."

His exploration now began to seem to Gonzalez a kind of triumphal progress. He had conciliated the Indians, baptized them, and carried off their gold. His conscience was easy; his pockets were full. Still, as he knew his ships would hold yet more gold, he decided to move on into the next province. The fame of the Spaniards had now spread afar. The greatest warrior that they met as they advanced was a cacique named Diriangen, who appeared, one day, in splendid array to welcome the strangers. He was accompanied by five hundred warriors and seventeen women, who advanced with ten banners and a number of horns. The

women, who are described as covered with plates of gold, each presented him with twenty gold hatchets, while each warrior gave him a turkey. Astonished and delighted by this munificence, the Spanish leader asked the cacique whither he was going and what he sought. "I have come," answered the Indian, "to see you, for I was told that you and your people wore beards and rode on animals." Whereupon Gonzalez presented him with a number of trinkets and invited him to become a Christian and a vassal of the king. The chief asked for three days in which to consult his women and his priests about this important step, but his sole object was to collect a large force and destroy the strangers. Some days after he fell upon the Spaniards with three thousand men, armed with coats of quilted cotton, shields, bows, and stone-pointed arrows. Luckily Gonzalez was warned in time by a friendly Indian; but the conflict was fierce and prolonged. Seven Spaniards were wounded and one captured. The Spaniards, however, in spite of the dreadful odds, fought with desperate courage. Their final victory was due more to the horses than to anything else. Mounting these animals so much dreaded by the Indians, they charged the enemy and put them to flight.

After this encounter the Spaniards decided to return to Panama. Arriving at the Gulf of St. Vincent, they were fortunate in finding there the pilot Niño, who had returned from a voyage up the coast, during which he had reached a bay, known afterwards as Fonseca Bay, in honor of the bishop of Burgos. Gonzalez reached Panama in June, 1523, bringing with him pearls and gold galore, and alleging that he had baptized thirty-two thousand two hundred and sixty-four persons. On their arrival the Spaniards boasted so incautiously of the wonders of the lands they had visited that Pedrarias resolved that he would never rest until he had colonized the province of Nicaragua.

In concluding this chapter, a brief description must be given of the people of Nicaragua as they are portrayed in the pages of the historian Herrera. Though the province,

he says, was far distant from Mexico, it conformed to that country in language, dress, and religion. In fact the Nicaraguans related that they had once dwelt in New Spain, and had emigrated on account of a long drought experienced there. The people were of a good height, with complexions rather white than tawny. The houses of the higher classes were different from those of the common folk. The "palaces" and the temples occupied large open spaces, surrounded by the houses of the nobles. In the midst there was a shop of goldsmiths, who produced marvellous vessels in gold. The people pierced their noses, their lips, or their ears, and dressed themselves almost exactly like the Mexicans. One man was permitted to have several wives, but only one legitimate one. During certain festivals of the year wives might be lent out to friends. There were human sacrifices, generally of captives taken in war. The priest who officiated walked about the captive three times, singing in a doleful tone. Then he opened the breast, snatched out the yet palpitating heart, and smeared the face of the victim with the blood. Then cutting up the body, he gave the heart to the high priest, the feet and hands to the king, the thighs to him who had made the capture, and the rest of the body to the people, so that each might devour his share. The priests (except those who listened to confession) never married. They gave penance according to the fault and never revealed the secrets of the confessional on pain of being beaten. The object of their worship was an idol, the face of which they smeared with human blood, while the young men danced around it.

In writing the Nicaraguans used hieroglyphics, and composed books of paper and parchment, thirty-six inches long and three inches wide, and folded like a pair of bellows. In these they set down, in blue, red, and other colors, all the most memorable events, together with their laws, their customs, and their ceremonies. "But not all the people of the province of Nicaragua," adds Herrera, "practiced the art of writing."

## CHAPTER VI

### *LATER CAREER OF GIL GONZALEZ AND PEDRARIAS*

After leaving Panama, Gonzalez had sailed for the town of San Domingo. Thence he dispatched to Spain five vessels, laden with the king's share of the gold he had discovered and a quantity of pearls, sugar, leather, and other products. Turning his thoughts again to the discovery of some strait to the South Sea and knowing that Pedrarias would make every effort to snatch from him Nicaragua, he besought the king to grant him the government of the countries he had discovered, promising in return great riches for the crown.

Then not waiting for an answer, he fitted out an expedition in 1524, and set sail for Honduras, intending to traverse that province and reach Nicaragua without interference from Pedrarias. Arriving at what is now the Puerto de Caballos, he tried to land, but a fierce storm compelled him to throw overboard some of his horses (hence the name given to the port), and he was driven westward into the Golfo Dulce, in the province of Guatemala, which, as we shall see, had been previously explored and taken possession of by captains whom Cortés had sent out from Mexico. As he did not recognize the country, which seemed rough and mountainous, he resolved to colonize a place to the east of him, which he called San Gil de Buena Vista. The Indians, not wishing him to settle there, showed him the country of Honduras, which they declared to be of great extent and very

rich. Accordingly, leaving some of his people at San Gil, he entered into that country, hoping to find his way to the South Sea. Before long news reached him that a company of men under Hernandez de Córdova was not far distant. This captain had been sent out by the indefatigable Pedrarias, and had already made three settlements on the western coast, which he named Leon, Granada, and Brusélas. The first two were in Nicaragua, and the last in Costa Rica.

As soon as Hernandez learned that other Spaniards were wandering about in Honduras, he sent a company under Hernando de Soto, the future discoverer of the Mississippi, to investigate. This party found Gonzalez in the district of Toreba. When the latter heard that De Soto's men were drawing near, he made up his mind to fight for his possessions. Falling upon De Soto's camp in the night time, with the cry "San Gil! Let the traitors die!" he tried to crush the intruders at one blow. But De Soto, though surprised, fought with such valor that Gonzalez, in the midst of the battle, began to cry out: "Ho, Señor Captain, peace, peace in the Emperor's name!" So De Soto called off his men, and the two rivals remained for some days inactive. Then Gonzalez, having received reinforcements, fell upon De Soto again, and not only forced him to leave the country, but despoiled him of all the gold he had. No sooner, however, had he committed this act of bad faith, than he found himself in a double danger. Hernandez with a larger force was preparing to avenge his lieutenant, and news came that there had arrived in the neighborhood of Puerto de Caballos another army under Cristóbal de Olid, one of Cortés's captains from Mexico. This Olid, as soon as he landed, built the town of Triunfo de la Cruz, some fourteen leagues to the east of Gonzalez's position. But it was noticed by his men that in his written proclamation he took possession of the country in the name of the king and of himself, as if he already intended to cast off his allegiance to Cortés.

Having returned to Puerto de Caballos, Gonzalez soon began to make advances to Olid to join with him in an

attack upon Hernandez. Olid, whose forces were small, and whose position was precarious, thought it politic to assume a friendly attitude. There were now three contestants for the possession of Honduras and Nicaragua: Olid from the north, Gonzalez from the east, and Hernandez from the south in the name of Pedrarias. Still a fourth was soon to appear upon the scene. This was Francisco de las Casas.

Bad news travels fast. Already information of the treason of Olid had reached Cortés in Mexico. Hypersensitive on the subject of rebellion, owing to the fact that he had been justly accused of rebelling against his own superior Velasquez, Cortés flew into a rage, and dispatched one hundred and fifty men under his relative, Francisco de las Casas, to bring the false Olid to justice. There could be no hope, he wrote the king, of exploring and settling the country if every captain sent out to do the general's bidding were allowed to revolt and set up for himself—which statement was eminently true.

When De las Casas reached the neighborhood of Triunfo, he raised a flag of truce, hoping to win over the followers of Olid; but the latter, believing that only an appeal to arms could save him, manned two caravels, and opened fire on the ships. Las Casas answered in kind, and the battle continued throughout the day. The natives must have been amazed to see these two sons of heaven bent upon the destruction of each other, instead of joining forces for the destruction of themselves. Finally one of Olid's caravels was struck and went to the bottom; whereupon he sent a flag of peace, agreeing to serve Cortés on certain conditions. While the terms of peace were being discussed, a dreadful tempest arose, and Las Casas, finding that his vessels would be wrecked, was forced to land and make submission to Olid. The cautious Gonzalez, who seems to have kept out of the foregoing trouble, escaped from the neighborhood as soon as he heard what had happened to Las Casas; but Olid, now master of the situation, immediately sent an officer to arrest and bring him back.

When both his rivals were in his power, Olid treated them with great leniency. They were invited to his table, and having given their parole, were allowed to move about the settlement so freely that they began to beg for liberty. When this was refused, the wretches conspired to kill him. One night at supper, when the attendants had retired, Las Casas suddenly leaped upon his friendly jailer, and stabbed him in the throat, while his ally Gonzalez stabbed him in the breast. Olid, who was strong and brave, leaped up, and dashing his enemies aside, rushed out into the woods. Then a great uproar arose, and to quiet it the conspirators announced that Olid was dead. And in fact he soon was to be. For finding himself dying he took refuge in an Indian hut, and sent for a priest. The latter, after confessing him, returned, and as the murderers promised that no harm should be done, he told them where Olid was. The poor wounded man was dragged from his concealment, and put to death. Then a court being summoned, sentence was pronounced against him as a traitor and his head was cut off. So says Herrera. No one seems to have said a word in his behalf—so great doubtless was the fear of treason. Leaving one hundred men to make a settlement wherever it seemed best, Las Casas hurried back to make his report to Cortés. With him, doubtless under compulsion, went Gil Gonzalez, never to return to the lands he claimed. Having fallen into the hands of the enemies of Cortés, he was sent back to Spain to be tried for murder. On his arrival, he was imprisoned for a while; but was finally allowed to go to his home, where he died not long after.

During all this time the indomitable old Pedrarias was at Panama, endeavoring to extend his sway to the south and to the northwest—wherever in fact slaves and gold were likely to be procured. In the west the settlements of Natá and Chiriquí were made in the face of the fiercest opposition on the part of the Indians. Then, however, came bad news from the lieutenant whom he had sent to Nicaragua to supplant the conqueror of that province, Gil Gonzalez.

For a while Hernandez had been loyal to his masters, but finally temptation came to him which he was unable to resist. The *Audiencia* of Hispaniola, who, acting with the governor, Don Diego Columbus, was looked upon as the most powerful body in the affairs of America, had heard of the confusion in Nicaragua and Honduras, and had decided to interfere. Accordingly they sent over to Honduras a lawyer, Pedro Moreno, to investigate. This official, not wishing Pedrarias to claim a province conquered by Gonzalez, wrote to Hernandez in Nicaragua, suggesting that he should renounce his allegiance to Pedrarias and hold directly from the *Audiencia*. Perhaps no Spanish lieutenant would have refused such an offer. It strongly appealed to Hernandez, who wished to be more independent and dreamed that he might thus become a second Cortés. He, therefore, sent messengers to Moreno who were to come to some agreement with him; but Moreno had returned to Hispaniola for more troops and the messengers fell into the hands of Cortés. This great captain had just arrived from Mexico to look after the interests which he believed his lieutenants to be neglecting, and was thinking of seizing Nicaragua for himself; but for the time being he thought it politic to treat well the messengers and even send presents to Hernandez. Before he could accomplish anything further, he was summoned back to Mexico by a conspiracy against his government.

In the meantime, two of the minor captains under Hernandez, one of whom was Hernando de Soto, refused to obey Hernandez in his new rôle of independent commander, and Hernandez was forced to throw De Soto into prison. He was rescued, however, by some of his friends, and hoping that Pedrarias would reward such tidings, he hastened back to Panama.

When Pedrarias heard of the defection of his lieutenant and of the probable designs of Cortés, he grew purple with rage, and set out for Nicaragua to wreak vengeance on Hernandez and to circumvent any invasion from Mexico. With

the fate of Balboa before him, one would suppose that Hernandez would have met Pedrarias on the field of battle, or would have fled before his coming. He seems, however, to have made no effort to do either. After a feeble declaration of innocence, he was seized by the grim old governor and his head was cut off.

During the absence of Pedrarias, there arrived at Nombre de Dios, July 30, 1526, a new governor in the person of Pedro de los Rios. He immediately seized all the estates and property of Pedrarias until the latter should stand his *residencia,* a trial demanded of all retiring governors. When Pedrarias returned, he sent a report to the emperor of what he had done, and by skilful bribery of his judge, he got off scot free. He even persuaded De los Rios to take possession of Nicaragua, thus freeing himself of his presence at Panama; but this arrangement was not to be permanent. In fact there was no permanence in the policy of the Spanish Court in regard to its possessions in the New World. Governor follows governor in bewildering succession, influence at court being the determining factor. Perhaps, at such a great distance and with the passage of news dependent upon sailing vessels, no wise administration of affairs in the Indies was possible. The occasion for action had often passed long before the petition setting forth the needs of the province, could arrive. The only feasible method of managing affairs would have been to give the *Audiencia* in Hispaniola large discretionary powers and to appoint well-chosen men as members thereof. It is true that this had been done in theory, but, as a matter of fact, the Court of Spain controlled the new possessions through its governors, and not trusting these, often encouraged daring captains to revolt against these governors, in order to exercise a check upon them.

When Pedro de los Rios arrived in Nicaragua, he was confronted by Diego Lopez de Salcedo, whom the emperor, in 1525, had appointed governor of Honduras, and who had decided to include Nicaragua within his jurisdiction. This new governor promptly ordered De los Rios to return to

Panama under penalty of a heavy fine, and the latter found it wise to obey. Not long after his departure there came a royal order, appointing Pedrarias governor of Nicaragua and confining Salcedo to Honduras. The old tyrant of Panama hastened to take possession of his new province, and resided in León until 1530, when he died at the age of nearly ninety. He spent his declining years in kidnapping Indians and selling them as slaves. For this purpose he established a slave market at Panama. The historian, Oviedo, holds him responsible for the death of two million Indians during his term of office of sixteen years! And the same historian, quoted by Bancroft, declares that in order to intimidate the Indians when they became too bold and troublesome, Pedrarias gave on seventeen different occasions a kind of gladiatorial show. "An enclosure," says Bancroft, "was made in the public square of the town, and on a fixed day a number of Indian chiefs were brought forth. One of them was led into the arena and given a stout club with which to defend his life against the dogs to be let loose. At first five or six young and inexperienced animals were set upon him, which he could easily keep at bay with his stick. After the spectators had witnessed this sport until it grew tame, and just as the unfortunate captive began to rejoice in the hope that through his skill and bravery his life was saved, two fierce bloodhounds rushed in, seized him by the throat, brought him to the ground, tore into shreds the flesh, and devoured the entrails, assisted by the still yelping whelps."

## CHAPTER VII

### *THE EXPLORATION AND CONQUEST OF GUATEMALA*

With the exception of Costa Rica, the last of the Central American provinces to be conquered by the Spaniards were Guatemala and Salvador. In them the *motif* of impending conflict comes from the north. They owed their exploration and conquest to the indefatigable energy and restless ambition of Cortés and his lieutenants.

The capture of the city of Mexico made an immense impression upon the minds of the surrounding nations. Traders carried the wonderful news in all directions, and the name of Cortés or Malinche (as the Indians called him) was one to conjure with. It conveyed to the savages a sense of dread like that of Richard Cœur de Lion among the Saracens.

To this conquering hero ambassadors of peace came especially from the southern provinces of Mexico, bordering on Guatemala, which desired to conciliate him in advance or to ask his aid against their enemies. They came naturally with their hands full of rich gifts, thus confirming the rumors that had already reached Cortés of the wealth of the lands on the southern sea. Accordingly he sent an exploring party to take possession of this sea in the name of his Catholic Majesty, as Balboa had done in the south some nine years before. When this party returned and reported that the task had been performed, Cortés, ignoring Balboa, wrote to the king: "I am proud of this discovery, for within

this sea must be found islands rich in gold and pearls and precious stones and spices, and many other secrets and wonderful things, as men of experience and learning affirm."

About this time there came ambassadors from the province of Tehuantepec, begging Cortés to assist their people against the hostile province of Tututepec. These provinces lay just to the north of Soconusco, to the south of which was Guatemala.

This opening wedge to the invasion of the south was eagerly seized by the Conqueror of Mexico. From the discovery of America the fatal error of the Indians had been not to combine against the invaders instead of calling on them to interfere in their intertribal wars.

The captain sent out to settle this domestic quarrel was Pedro de Alvarado, a handsome Spanish cavalier, who, in military prowess, was only less brilliant than Cortés himself. Advancing against the people of Tututepec, Alvarado quickly subdued the hostile cacique, and founded a town in his country (1522). Then hearing of a wonderful country to the south called Guatemala, he sent two messengers to offer friendship to the chief of that province.

Guatemala (a word of doubtful origin) was inhabited by the Maya-Quiché tribes, who bore a close resemblance to the Mexicans in government, religion, and social life, and were identical with the people of Yucatan. They had schools in their towns for both sexes, and possessed a written literature in hieroglyphic characters. They were without metals, however, and used cacao for money. In war they enslaved the conquered, with the exception of the chiefs, whom they killed and ate. The imposing monuments of the Mayas, found especially in Yucatan, which seemed to be the ruins of mighty cities, and which were once regarded as more wonderful than the Greek Mycenæ, have been shown to date back only to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and to be the remains of ancient communal houses.

The messengers were received with due honor by the cacique, who inquired about their mission with great

Palace of Cortés at Cuernavaca.

curiosity. "Did they come," he asked, "from the great Malinche; had they come by sea or land; did they speak the truth in all they said?" The Spaniards promptly replied that they came by land from the invincible captain, who, though no god, had come to show the Indians the way to paradise, and that they never deviated a hair's breadth from the truth. Then they drew the picture of a mighty ship and a gigantic horse, which greatly excited the wonder of their hosts. The chief declared that he desired nothing better than the alliance of such friends; they should tell their chief that he could have fifty thousand warriors if he would come to make war on the enemies of Guatemala, the Soconuscans. He then dismissed the messengers with such numerous gifts of cacao, maize, cotton goods, and gold jewelry that five thousand slaves were needed to carry them.

Instead of making war upon the Soconuscans, as he was invited to do, Cortés seems to have sent some settlers into their country and established friendly relations with them. If he was seeking a *casus belli* with the Guatemalans, he could not have acted with greater cunning. In 1523 news came that the settlers were being harassed by the tribes from the south, especially those of Guatemala, Utatlan, and Chiapa. The opportunity had now come. An army was organized under Alvarado, consisting of one hundred crossbowmen and arquebusiers, one hundred and sixty horsemen, four pieces of artillery, and a native force of twenty thousand warriors. In order that the spiritual needs of the conquered might not be forgotten, two friars and two chaplains accompanied the expedition.

Setting forth with this fine army, says Herrera, "he pacified some tribes by kindness, others by severity; while those who would not swear submission and treated contemptuously all kinds of admonition, he reduced to slavery."

When he arrived at the town of Tehuantepec, the inhabitants, remembering his former services, expressed undeviating loyalty, and gave him a hearty reception. Not so with the Soconuscans. They had already had some experience

of the Spaniards, and had decided to offer resistance to the oncoming host. At the very first battle, however, they were totally defeated; their king was killed, and the fiery Alvarado swept on towards the south. Before him went messengers, demanding the submission of the people and threatening with slavery all those found in arms. But no submission came, and the Spaniards fought their way through several towns with unpronounceable names until they came to Utatlan, the capital of the Quiché nation. It was situated near the site of the present city of Santa Cruz del Quiché. In wealth and in style of architecture it resembled the city of Mexico. There were only two approaches, one of thirty steps up a steep cliff, and the other over a narrow causeway. Within the city there were not only a tower four stories high, and a fortification one hundred and twenty feet high, but also a royal palace, said to have been "one of the most magnificent structures of Central America." It measured three hundred and seventy-six paces by seven hundred and twenty-eight. It was built of hewn stone of different colors, and contained spacious apartments for domestic purposes, together with a hall of justice, a treasury, and an armory. The bed rooms looked out upon gardens filled with flowers and fruit trees, in the midst of which were menageries and aviaries. Separated from the main palace were the apartments of the king's queens and concubines, with baths and miniature lakes. There was also a college in which were educated the princesses of the royal blood.

When Alvarado drew near to the capital, he received a cordial invitation, accompanied by splendid presents, from the council of chiefs to enter in and receive the allegiance of the people as vassals of the great lord of Spain. But as he crossed the causeway he noticed that a bridge had been cut in such a way as to weaken it, and when he entered the city, he saw no women. Believing rightly that a trap had been laid for him, he hastily marched out again into the open country, where he could use his cavalry. The chiefs now besought him to attend a banquet in the city. Alvarado

spoke them fair until he got them into his hands. Then hoping to end the war by an act that would strike terror into the hearts of all, he burned his captives alive, and ordered the city to be razed to the ground. Before this last act of the drama was enacted, the Indians, who had hoped to destroy the Spaniards in the narrow streets of the city, began to attack them with desperate valor. Alvarado, calling his artillery into requisition, mowed down their ranks until they were forced to take refuge in the surrounding ravines. The Cakchiquels, a neighboring tribe, had already made submission. The Spanish captain now called on them to furnish four thousand warriors for the destruction of the remaining Quichés. The command was obeyed, and the Quichés, finding further resistance useless, made their submission and were graciously permitted to return to their lands. The conqueror, having stripped the country of gold, and reduced his captives to slavery, marched on to the land of the Cakchiquels.

Their capital was called Patinamit or Iximché, though Alvarado calls it the city of Guatemala. The king came forth to meet him, borne in a litter, under a canopy decorated with gold, feathers, and other articles of barbaric splendor. He received the Spanish chieftain with the most bountiful hospitality, and when he saw that Alvarado was suspicious that this reception might cover treachery, he calmed his fears with the words: "Quiet thy heart, great captain, scion of the sun, and trust in my love." So the Spaniards for eight days gave themselves up to the enjoyment of a royal festival.

All this time the king was constantly whispering in the ear of his guest that it would be kind of him to make war on the Zutugils, who lived nearby and whose king was his deadly enemy. This king had his palace on the heights above a lake called Atitlan.

Nothing loath to seek new adventures, Alvarado sent messengers to the Zutugils, praying them not to do harm to his friends; but they, trusting to the strength of their

position, killed the messengers of peace. Whereupon Alvarado, after demanding of his host all the gold that could be gathered together, marched against the hostile tribe with eighty horses and a large force of Spaniards and native troops. When he presented himself before their town they refused to parley. He then advanced along the shore of the lake towards a fortress which was built in the lake and connected with the shore by a causeway. Here the Indians made a fierce resistance, but the invaders pressed on, slaying their opponents and climbing over their dead bodies until they reached the fortress. When this was captured the defenders who survived threw themselves into the water and swam to a little island nearby.

After passing the night in the neighboring cornfields, the Spaniards visited the city; but to their astonishment it was found deserted. So they captured some of the fugitives, by whom they sent messages of peace to the chiefs. These answered that their country had never before been subdued; but since the Castilians had shown such skill and ardor, they wished to be their friends. Accordingly they came to the camp of Alvarado, and touching his hand, as their custom was, acknowledged themselves his vassals.

On his return to Guatemala in triumph, he received deputies from all the tribes of the lake regions, asking peace. While he was dispensing favors to the submissive, however, he varied the monotony of conquest by falling in love with a beautiful Indian woman. She happened to be the best beloved wife of his host, but this fact seems only to have lent zest to the courtship. With some trumped up charge against the king, he threw him into irons, and seized the wife, perhaps not reluctant to be possessed by so handsome and so potent a cavalier. To redeem her the king presented to his guest all the jewels he could collect and offered the daughters of many chieftains; but Alvarado kept her until he grew weary of her charms.

Alvarado was now informed that a district to the south called Itzcuintlan had refused obedience to him, and he set

forth to take vengeance on its people. His usual success accompanied him. He advanced from town to town, sometimes forced to crush a hostile tribe, sometimes winning his way by intimidation or conciliation.

At last he reached and crossed the La Paz river, the boundary of the present state of Salvador. In this new territory, the towns at first received him peaceably; but when he approached the town of Acajutla, he found a great army of Indians drawn up for its defence, their spearsmen in serried ranks, and their war plumes and feather banners waving in the air. Seeing that their position was a strong one, Alvarado had recourse to a ruse; he pretended to retreat. The enemy immediately fell upon his men in hot pursuit; but the Spaniards, after obtaining a more advantageous position, suddenly turned and dealt death and destruction to their pursuers. The defeat of the latter was all the greater because their bodies were protected by cotton armor, three fingers' width in thickness, which covered them like a sack from head to foot, and was so heavy that they could neither flee nor get up when they fell down. Their lances and spears, however, were very long, and they used them with such effect that many of the Spaniards were wounded. Alvarado, himself, was shot through the thigh with an arrow, and during the rest of his life he limped with one leg shorter than the other. His vengeance, however, was complete. When he entered the city it is said that not one of the enemy had been left alive.

As he had gathered but little booty up to this time, Alvarado pushed on to Cuzcatlan, the capital of the country. It was a fine city with many inhabitants, and the chiefs received the Spaniards with hospitality. The inhabitants, however, took to flight and carried on for many days a guerrilla warfare with the invaders. Finally, Alvarado, finding his army diminishing, and harassed by the enemy as well as by the terrible semi-tropical rains, decided to return to Guatemala. Here, in July, 1524, he founded the town of Santiago of Guatemala, named in honor of St. James,

the patron saint of Spain. It was built on a verdant plain, but under the shadow of two mountains, one of which furnished such abundant streams of water that the Spaniards called it Volcan de Agua, while the other shot forth such fiery flames that it was called Volcan de Fuego. In the middle of the town was founded a church in honor of the same saint, and magistrates, judges, and other officers were duly appointed. The entire army, in gala attire, joined in the celebration of the holy mass. Alvarado now made a report to Cortés of all that he had done, and Cortés sent on the report to the king, requesting that Alvarado should be made governor of that province.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *THE EXPEDITION OF DIEGO GUTIERREZ TO COSTA RICA*

Until the middle of the sixteenth century little progress had been made in the exploration of what is now the State of Costa Rica or, as it was also called, Nueva Cartago. Its present capital, Cartago, though with a site further to the west, may have been founded by some fugitives from Brusélas early in the sixteenth century, but neither the actual founder nor the date is known with any degree of certainty. It is true that the eastern coast had been visited by Columbus in 1502, while the western portion had been penetrated later by Gil Gonzalez and by Francisco Hernandez de Córdova. The latter had also founded the town of Brusélas in 1524; but this settlement was disbanded three years later by order of Salcedo. The interior of the country, which was thickly wooded and almost impenetrable, naturally remained unsettled until the more accessible provinces had been conquered and portioned out to various governors.

In 1540, however, the governorship of Costa Rica was granted to a Spaniard named Diego Gutierrez, who had heard rumors of a rich treasure obtained from it by the great Montezuma, and who was eager to enrich himself in this wild country. Perhaps no other Spanish adventurer ever met with greater misfortunes and a more disastrous end than Gutierrez.

At Jamaica, a mutiny among his men caused the loss of his military stores; at Nombre de Dios he fell ill, and all

but five of his men deserted him. He managed, however, to fit out a small vessel, and by sailing up the San Juan river he reached the town of Granada in Nicaragua. Here he succeeded in borrowing a large sum of money from an adventurer like himself, but the governor received him coldly, and declared that his own jurisdiction extended over the wild and rugged Costa Rica, and that there was no room for another governor between Veragua and Nicaragua. When Gutierrez, however, showed him his charter, defining the limits of his grant, the governor advised him not to venture into so dangerous a country. But nothing could dissuade the new proprietor from making the attempt. With two vessels and a force of sixty men, he sought the eastern coast, and sailed up the river Surre.

After he had ascended the river a few leagues, he met some Indians, who in exchange for the usual trinkets, furnished him with a small quantity of gold and some provisions. But his men soon grew discontented over the hardships of the journey and the evil disposition of their leader, and again he was deserted by all but a half-dozen of his followers. There was nothing to do but to give up the enterprise and follow the deserters to the seashore. When he arrived on the coast, his men had already taken ship for Nicaragua, but he was lucky enough to find a vessel from that province which had just arrived with provisions and arms for the proposed settlement. Encouraged by this good fortune, he sent to Nombre de Dios for more men, and when these reached him, sent back for still more, until he had eighty in all.

With this force he ascended the river until he reached an Indian village, to which he gave the name of San Francisco. Here he met several chiefs, who visited him with presents of fruit, but brought so little gold that Gutierrez hardened his heart against them. Promising fair treatment, he enticed two of the caciques, Camachire and Cocori, into his camp, and when he had secured them, he chained them to a beam until they should cause to be brought a large

supply of the precious metal. Camachire, thus constrained, procured some two thousand ducats, but instead of releasing him, the avaricious governor placed him with a large basket beside a great fire, and informed him that the basket must be filled with gold six times, or in four days he should be burnt to death. The chief sent out slaves to collect his ransom, but before it arrived he contrived to make his escape. His fellow-captive, who was still less successful in collecting gold, was led out for several days to the kennels of the bloodhounds and was told that unless much gold was forthcoming, he should be devoured by these terrible beasts. At length, made indignant by this idle threat, he exclaimed: "You lie, bad Christians; for often have you made the same threat and yet I live; besides, I would rather die than live in bondage among such vipers, which I greatly wonder how the earth can bear." His life was spared, but the governor kept him a prisoner.

The surrounding Indians, hoping to force the dreaded visitors to depart, destroyed their crops and fled into the interior. Thus the Spaniards were soon threatened by famine, and there was the usual discontent and threat of desertion. The only hope of the governor was to push on and secure such a supply of gold or provisions as would quiet the murmurs.

Sending those of his men who were weak or sick to the coast under his nephew, Alonso de Pisa, he set out with indomitable energy to seek his fortunes in the wilderness. After penetrating with infinite labor the thick undergrowth for some days, he reached the mountains, and here he and his men suffered greater hardships than before. There were no human habitations, food was so scarce that even the dogs had to be eaten, and the men were exhausted by the labor of climbing the steep rocks.

Finally, in July, 1545, they reached the banks of the Rio Grande, which flows into the Gulf of Nicoya. Here the Indians began to gather around them in great numbers and with every sign of hostility. In full war paint of black and

red, and with terrible yells, they rushed upon the intruders, and though they were repulsed at first, they returned in such numbers that Gutierrez and his men were quickly overwhelmed. Six of them managed to escape to the San Juan river, but Gutierrez himself was slain, his body was quartered, and the various parts borne away in triumph by the exulting Indians.

In 1560 the subjugation of the country was again undertaken, this time by Juan de Caballon and Juan de Estrada Rábago. These men, under the orders of the emperor, founded several towns in the province, but the settlers were soon in great distress and complained bitterly of the "rebellious natives, who could not be converted and brought to obedience by peaceable means." This complaint came especially from the town of Cartago, which seems to have been founded some time before.

As the sufferings of the settlers increased, measures were taken for their relief by Juan Vasquez Coronado, the Alcalde Mayor of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. He relieved the necessities of the settlers and explored the country in various directions. As a reward for his services, he was appointed governor of Costa Rica for life, in 1565, and also governor of Nicaragua for three years. For some reason he was superseded in 1573, and his successor was so lacking in ability that in 1586 there were left only two Spanish towns in Costa Rica. These were Esparza and Cartago.

While we are recounting the efforts of the Spaniards to "pacify" Costa Rica and the neighboring states through the instrumentality of sword and fetters, it must not be forgotten that there were noble, self-sacrificing men who pursued a very different method, and who often accomplished more in bringing the natives into submission to the crown than the strong arm of the soldiers. These were the friars, who were everywhere fearless missionaries among the natives, and who willingly endured martyrdom, if thereby they might advance the cause of Christ. The soldier sought his reward in this world, the friar in the other world.

One of the noblest of the friars was the famous Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas in Mexico, whose *History of the Indies* has been frequently quoted in these pages. His ministration extended over a large part of Central America. Before the year 1536 he had written a treatise, in which he urged the crown to cease the attempt to conquer the natives by force of arms and to try to accomplish the same end by civilizing and converting them. This new and strange doctrine he thundered forth from the pulpit of Santiago in Guatemala until the Spanish settlers, who thought him a mere dreamer, challenged him to put his dreams into practice among some of the fiercer Indian tribes. The challenge was accepted, and with the aid of his friars, Las Casas converted a region known as the "Land of War" so thoroughly that it was known thereafter as the "Land of Peace."

It is even said, though the story may be a legend, that the friars translated the mysteries of the Catholic faith into the Quiché language, versified them, and set them to music, so that they might be sung to the natives. Four Indian traders were carefully instructed to sing these verses, and were sent out with a quantity of scissors, knives, and other articles dear to the Indian heart. They visited many of the tribes in the Land of War, and after disposing of their wares, they would beat a drum and calling the people around them, would sing the verses. This strange practice of the traders made a great sensation among their hearers, and many enquiries were made as to their meaning. When they explained that they had learned the verses from the padres, one of the caciques whom they were visiting sent his brother to invite the fathers to visit him. Accordingly, Father Luis Cancér was sent to him, and the chief was so much pleased with his teachings that he became a convert to Christianity and even preached the doctrine to his own vassals.

The most difficult of all the converts, however, whom the friars encountered were the Spaniards themselves; for Las Casas was persuaded that the practice of enslaving the natives was wicked, and he endeavored to enforce his views by

the terrors of the church, boldly declaring that he would not grant absolution of sins to any who did not immediately liberate their Indian slaves. No measure could have been more unpopular; even his fellow-ecclesiastics did not approve of his position; and the settlers were sure that they could not exist without slaves. Besides it was contended that the best way to convert the natives and to break up human sacrifices was to make war on them and reduce them to slavery, an argument that, several hundred years later, was applied in the United States to the enslavement of the African negro. Finding the opposition to his views too strong to be overcome, Las Casas, after making a fierce protest, was compelled to retire. In after years, however, he continued to raise his voice in behalf of the oppressed natives. His faults were those of Luther: he was guilty often of bitterness, uncharitableness, and arrogance, but these faults, as in the case of the great reformer, are obliterated by the memory of his boldness in attacking old abuses and his devotion to a cause which he regarded as right. He died in 1566 in his ninety-second year.

Before the death of Las Casas Costa Rica had been visited by the Franciscan friars. What could not be accomplished by armed men in the subjugation of the natives, was largely accomplished by their self-denying efforts. At first they found the soldiers such a hindrance to their mission of peace, that for a time they forbade them to enter the province. Fray Betanzos, one of the first missionaries to Costa Rica, laid the foundations there, in 1555, of an ecclesiastical diocese or province. Having learned to speak twelve dialects of the Indians, he journeyed over the province, barefoot and accompanied only by a little boy. Many conversions are said to have been made by him, and his converts, after their baptism, brought bountiful supplies to the Spaniards. "During the sixteen years," says Vasquez, "which he thus labored, there remained not a palm of territory in the province which he did not traverse in search of souls." When he died, his body was interred in a convent founded by him at Cartago.

Less fortunate was his friend and associate, Fray Juan Pizarro, who, some years later, was one day preaching in an Indian village, when some drunken natives seized him, and having stripped and beaten him until he was senseless, they hanged him and flung his body over a cliff.

Martyrdom, however, of some of their number, instead of discouraging the friars, seems to have rendered them still more enthusiastic in their work of Christianizing and civilizing the natives. Wherever it was possible the Indians were gathered together in towns, where they could be more easily brought under the influence of the church. Convents of the Franciscans and the Dominicans were founded until, in 1600, there were thirty-six in Guatemala alone. In 1592 a college was established at Santiago.

## CHAPTER IX

### *SLAVES, MINES, PRODUCTS*

From what has been related of the destruction of the natives by war and by the famine that generally follows in its train, it might be supposed that these causes alone were responsible for the rapid diminution in the number of the population. Unfortunately there were other and equally destructive forces at work, which made the coming of the Europeans a bane to the conquered tribes. Besides other contagious diseases, small-pox was introduced, and raged without let or hindrance among the Indians. In some cases half the population of provinces was carried off by this foul disease. The only remedy that the savage mind could devise to stay its progress was to plunge the patient into a bath of cold water (which is still the method of treating small-pox among the Indians of New Mexico), but it is not recorded that this met with any success. Then, again, the strong drink of the Europeans, wherever it was introduced among the natives, is said to have slain more than the sword.

Moreover, after the Spaniards arrived, they found that terrible pestilences from time to time swept through the Indian population and caused fearful mortality, while Europeans were either immune or only slightly affected. What the nature of these epidemics was is not very clear, but it has been supposed that one of them was a fatal form of diphtheria. They may have existed among the natives before the advent of the white man; certainly their effect was very destructive.

Finally it must not be forgotten that the experience of the world has shown that where a higher and a lower race are brought into contact, the lower is usually driven to the wall in the resulting competition.

These causes, acting in some cases together, in others separately, helped to diminish the native population, and when to them was added the destruction by war and enslavement, some portions of Central America, especially Panama, were nearly depopulated.

Charles V, the young Emperor, and King of Spain, learned with profound regret of the cruelties practised upon his new subjects, and of the rapid diminution in their numbers. Deeply religious and zealous for the spread of the true faith among them, he listened with interest to the eloquent words of Las Casas, who painted in the darkest colors the deeds of the explorers in Hispaniola and on Terra Firma.

In 1543 he gave his assent to a code, to be known as the "New Laws," which was intended to improve the condition of the natives, especially of those who had fallen unjustly into slavery. Other cedulas had been issued in previous years to soften the treatment of the Indians; but they had proved ineffective on account of the lack of enforcement in such distant lands. The present code was far more drastic, and contained ample provision for its execution.

As many thousands of Indians were reported by Las Casas as perishing in slavery, the principal provision was that all slaves not legally enslaved should be immediately released and that no other natives should be reduced to bondage under any pretext whatever. By legal slaves was meant only those who had been taken in war or who had been convicted of crime. The burden of proof, therefore, seems to have rested on the owner to show that his slaves had not been recruited from peaceable Indians or from those who were innocent of any crime against the laws. As the fortunes of many proprietors, however, depended upon their slaves, the temptation to invent evidence, when it was necessary, of their legal enslavement, must have been very great. The

The Cathedral in City of Mexico, erected on the site of the great idol temple of Montezuma, first used as a place of worship in 1626.

government inspectors, moreover, had so much difficulty in proving their charges that one of them wrote to the emperor: "To examine whence the Indian slaves come, and how they came to be slaves is impossible. There is no account of them, or any other title than that they are branded, and have been sold and bought."

Other provisions of the code, more easily enforced, were that all slaves belonging to ecclesiastics or to royal officers must be immediately set free; no slaves, against their will, should be employed to dive for pearls; nor should any be forced to carry such burdens as would endanger their lives. Moreover, it was provided that after the death of the conquerors of the Indies, the *repartimientos,* or bands of Indians assigned to them by the crown, should not descend to their heirs but should revert to the king. In the meantime, those who held an excessive number should surrender a portion of them to the crown. Reversion to the king meant emancipation.

In order to enforce these humane regulations inspectors were appointed, and their salaries paid out of the fines imposed on the transgressors of the law, and as an earnest of the new attitude towards the natives, priests were to accompany all explorers and preach the doctrines of freedom and Christianity.

Such legislation, of course, demanded special courts with appropriate jurisdiction. There was established, therefore, an *audiencia* for South America at Lima and another in Honduras. The latter, the site of which was subsequently changed to Guatemala and then to Panama, was to have jurisdiction over all Central America. The decisions of these *audiencias* in criminal matters were final; but in civil cases involving more than ten thousand pesos, there was an appeal to the Council of the Indies in Spain. The *audiencia* could, also, suspend governors and other officials, subject to appeal to the same council.

As might be expected, these new laws were received with a fierce and angry protest, amounting in some cases to

rebellion, wherever they were promulgated. The opposition to the enslavement of the natives seems to have been confined to the emperor, a few of the priests, and to some doctrinaire jurists. As we have seen, many persons contended that without enslaving the natives, it would not be possible to civilize them and abolish human sacrifices; while the proprietors clamored that without slaves no mines could be worked and that even the farms would go to ruin. While, therefore, the inspectors seem to have used every effort to enforce the ordinances, it does not appear that they accomplished very much for the alleviation of the wretched condition of the natives. The best method of abolishing Indian slavery was to introduce negro slavery, and this was to come.

Finally, in 1545, the difficulty and the inexpediency of enforcing the new laws were found to be so great that they were repealed.

Helps contends that this repeal applied only to rules concerning *repartimientos* and that the general law that no more Indians should be enslaved, was not repealed and was still enforced in 1553. This seems to be true, though at a later period Philip IV made an exception in regard to the fierce tribes of Chili, and permitted them to be enslaved in war.

When, however, in 1548, the emperor was informed that the coast of Honduras was nearly depopulated, and that six thousand Indians of that coast had been enslaved and shipped away to Peru, he ordered that this traffic in slaves should be suppressed by severe punishments.

As a result of the repeal of the "new laws" the *repartimientos* or *encomiendas* were granted, as before, to explorers or even to friends of the emperor, and some of them in Guatemala were made perpetual. Thus the Indians were held in a state of serfdom, working out their tribute to the Spaniards. But as Las Casas bitterly opposed the inhumanity of the system, and as it was regarded as impolitic to build up great territorial families dangerous to the peace of the crown, it was decided to modify the system by restricting it to two

lives, after which the crown should inherit. Later it was extended to the fourth generation, and it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the system was abolished.

The restrictions placed upon the enslavement of the natives, however, did not apply to the African slave. In pity for the rapidly disappearing Indians, even Las Casas reluctantly recommended the introduction of the negroes as substitutes, though some had been previously introduced. When the Indians had proved themselves physically unable to stand the hard labor of the mines, slaves from Africa, captured and sold by the Portuguese and later by the English, were imported into the Spanish possessions. The jurists of Spain declared that while it was against the laws of Spain to reduce them to slavery, it was quite a different thing to purchase them from another nation.

When negroes were first introduced into Central America is not clear, but it is recorded that Balboa had some thirty working for him when he transferred his ship timber across the Isthmus, and in 1548 there was a dangerous insurrection of the negro slaves in Honduras. Moreover, great numbers of them escaped from Hispaniola, and took refuge on the mainland, especially in the neighborhood of Nombre de Dios. Here they turned robbers, and in the sixteenth century they were as great a terror to the surrounding country as the slaves of Rome in the time of the servile insurrections. They were known as wild negroes or Cimarrones (Maroons). Sometimes they banded themselves together and, electing a chief, pillaged the plantations, carried off women, or swooped down on travellers crossing the Isthmus. Expeditions were organized against them with some success, but allying themselves with the English corsairs they long continued a menace to the peace of the country.

No sooner had the Spaniards made permanent settlements in the various provinces of Central America than they began to work the mines with Indian labor or with negroes, when they could get them. The toil was heavy and exhausting;

but the returns were large. In Honduras, from all accounts, the supply of gold was bountiful. In some places it was only necessary to scratch the earth and the precious metal was forthcoming. One man with a slave for a while scraped up a pound every day. Mining tools were so scarce that the Spaniards resorted to their stirrup irons. With these, in two months, they collected sixteen thousand gold pesos or forty-eight thousand dollars; with better implements, says Herrera, they might have scraped up two hundred thousand pesos.

In Darien and Veragua, also, rich mines were opened, and the yield seems to have been enormous. The streams of Veragua, flowing from the Sierras, washed down the golden grains in great abundance, and fortunes were quickly made. When the natives were exhausted by the forced labor, negro slaves were introduced until, in 1570, there were two thousand of them employed.

The yield of the mines, however, while great, was not permanent. The point of diminishing returns seems to have been quickly reached, and, as in the State of Nevada in recent times, the population drawn thither by the prospect of wealth began to scatter.

Hardly less valuable than the gold mines were the pearl fisheries of the southern coast. The scene of the greatest activity was the Pearl Islands discovered by Balboa. Here gangs of negroes under an overseer dove in twelve fathoms of water and brought up the pearl shells, while the sea swarmed with man-eating sharks. The task or quantity of pearls to be obtained by each diver was fixed. If he obtained more, he could sell the surplus to his master at a certain price. The quality of these pearls is said to have been as good as that of the pearls from the East Indian seas. The quantity was so great that in 1587 one city of Spain imported six hundred pounds. One of the pearls of Panama, which became the property of Philip II of Spain, was of extraordinary size. It weighed two hundred and fifty carats and was valued at one hundred and fifty thousand pesos.

But these fishing grounds, like the mines of the northern coast, soon began to grow less profitable. The pearls fell off in quantity and quality.

For some time, however, the city of Panama, which was the shipping point for goods to and from Peru, had a lucrative trade. Gold was cheap, prices were high, and large profits were reaped. But in the latter part of the sixteenth and again in the seventeenth century, trade between the Isthmus and Spain and between Peru and Panama was almost destroyed by the depredations of the buccaneers. Then the city, which lacked natural resources, fell off greatly in prosperity, and in 1590 actually suffered from a famine. The importance of inter-oceanic communication did not escape the Spaniards. Charles V seems to have been the first to propose to join the waters of the river Chagres with those of the little Rio Grande on the Pacific side near the present city of Panama; but an engineer, after surveying the proposed route, reported to the emperor, about 1534, that there was no monarch in all Europe rich enough to carry out such an enterprise.

## CHAPTER X

### *THE COMING OF THE BUCCANEERS, 1570-1700*

In the second half of the sixteenth century, England, even when nominally at peace with Spain, did not hesitate to wink at the fitting out of expeditions by her mariners to prey upon the Spanish settlements in the Gulf of Mexico, and to capture the galleons bringing treasure from the New World. In one sense it was a struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism; and it was largely to avenge and put a stop to these depredations that Philip II sent out the Invincible Armada, which made so great a fiasco on the coast of England in 1588.

Already, however, in 1570, Francis Drake had received from Elizabeth letters of marque to cruise in the West Indies. This commander is sometimes spoken of as a pirate or corsair, and doubtless he was so regarded by the Spaniards. But he deserves a better name. He was a typical English mariner of the sixteenth century, warring on the Spaniards with the tacit consent of his queen. Instead of being "the common enemy of mankind," as the pirate is justly termed, he was a patriotic subject of her majesty, intent on sharing the wealth of the Spaniards, but highly esteemed by the queen, and when the crisis of invasion came, ready to sacrifice all to the defence of his country. The son of a Protestant minister, he became a romantic adventurer, and was the first of English mariners to sail around the globe.

He had a special grievance against the Spaniards, dating from the year 1567, when he was serving under Sir John Hawkins. The two captains had undertaken several slave-trading expeditions to the West Indies, this being regarded at the time as an honorable occupation, and had been well received by the colonists, who were eager to obtain the blacks. But in 1567 Hawkins's vessels were attacked, as he believed, by an act of treachery, and three of them were captured. Drake, having lost all his property in this ill-fated expedition, swore vengeance against the Spaniards and spent the rest of his life in doing them what damage he could.

Under his letters of marque he now made two voyages to the West Indies, and in 1572, without any commission, fitted out a small fleet for the capture of Nombre de Dios on the Isthmus, at that time the usual place of deposit for the treasure of Peru before it was transported to Europe.

When he reached Nombre de Dios, he managed to slip into the town under cover of the darkness, and marched through the streets to the sound of drum and trumpet. When, however, he attempted to seize the governor's treasure house, reported to be full of gold and pearls, a company of soldiers offered defence and fired upon the intruders. Nothing daunted, Drake was preparing to lead the attack himself, when he fell to the ground, fainting from a wound in the leg. Fearing that their ships might be seized, his men carried him on board, and the capture of Nombre de Dios had to be abandoned for a more favorable opportunity.

The English now sailed about in the North or Caribbean Sea, capturing Spanish vessels and threatening the towns along the coast. Finally they learned of the arrival of a Spanish fleet at Nombre de Dios, intended for the transportation to Spain of the gold and pearls that would soon come across the Isthmus. This treasure, they determined, must be seized before it reached Nombre de Dios.

The Cimarrones or runaway slaves, who harbored bitter enmity against the Spaniards, willingly joined the English,

and eager in the pursuit of plunder, they proved themselves not only useful carriers of burdens, but also skilful providers of food. With thirty of these slaves, some of whom he may himself have sold into slavery a few years before, Drake set out on an overland expedition to seize the treasure at the city of Panama.

After travelling for four days, he and his men ascended a high mountain, whence he could behold, like a second Balboa, the southern sea. Here the English commander, moved by the spectacle and inspired by a vision of what he was to accomplish in later years, "besought the Almighty God of His goodness, to give him life and leave to sail an English vessel on that sea."

He then pressed on to the neighborhood of Panama, where he learned through a spy that eight mules loaded with gold and others with pearls and jewels were to start that very night across the Isthmus. Marching back some distance, Drake ambushed his force on both sides of the route and waited for the approaching train. But again disappointment awaited him. One of his soldiers was drunk, and starting up too soon, was seen by a Spaniard, who gave the alarm. The treasure mules were turned aside into the forest, and Drake, fearing an attack from Panama, had to make his way back empty-handed to his ships.

Another than he would have been utterly discouraged. Since he left England he had lost two brothers, and by losses in battle and by the calentura, his available force was reduced to eighteen men. Yet he lingered about the coast until he met with a French vessel bound on the same mission as himself. He and the captain quickly came to an agreement to make a descent upon the coast with a company of thirty-five men and to divide any spoils they might secure. Leaving their ships they ascended the river Francisco in boats and then marched across country to a point just back of Nombre de Dios. Here they chanced upon another treasure train, said to have contained thirty tons of gold and silver loaded on mule back.

This time nothing happened to mar the plans of Drake. The guard was put to flight, the treasure seized, and for fear of immediate pursuit, part of it was buried and the rest of it carried off. When they reached the river, the boats were nowhere to be seen; but they built a raft, set up a rude sail, and began the descent. Before long the boats were seen approaching. All the men were taken on board, and as had been agreed, the treasure was divided—even the Cimarrones receiving their share in handsome presents. Determined not to lose anything Drake even sent a party of men back to the scene of the battle, where they dug up and brought away what of the buried gold and silver the Spaniards had failed to discover.

The ships, filled with rich booty, now sailed away to England, reaching that country in August, 1573. It was on Sunday that they sailed into harbor, but the news of the arrival of the fleet laden with gold emptied the churches. All the people flocked to the shore to welcome the despoilers of the Spaniards.

A few years later Drake realized his dream of sailing around the world. The *Golden Hind* with rich plunder derived from the towns and shipping of the western coast of South America and Central America, completed the voyage in 1580. In the following year, her captain became Sir Francis Drake.

In his later years, after he had aided in the defeat of the Great Armada, Drake received a special order from Queen Elizabeth to make an expedition to the coast of Central America. In the course of this, his last voyage, he swooped down on Nombre de Dios, and had the grim satisfaction of destroying that town, though an attempt of one of his captains to capture the city of Panama, ended in failure. While he was devising other schemes for securing Spanish gold, he died in the harbor of Portobello, and was buried at sea. The Spaniards must have learned with no little satisfaction of the death of this terrible "Dragon," as they used to call him.

As we pass into the seventeenth century, we find the buccaneers multiplying in the West Indies, their numbers being recruited from the daring and desperate men of all nations. Spain actually helped to increase these enemies of her colonies by her drastic navigation laws. As she permitted no goods to be imported except from Spanish ports, goods were sold at monopoly prices, and the colonists, in many instances, welcomed the buccaneers, who sold them cheaply the articles that they needed. From traders, however, the buccaneers soon began to degenerate into what would now be termed pirates. Nor were their depredations always disapproved by the nations to which they belonged. There was much hatred of Spain and much envy of the treasure she was drawing from the New World. Accordingly some countries, while at peace with Spain, winked at the depredations and rewarded the malefactors, and as soon as war was declared, granted letters of marque to these sea rovers, who then sailed as privateers against Spanish commerce, like the famous Lafitte of a later date in Louisiana.

These "brethren of the coast," as they liked to call themselves, generally did not distinguish between legitimate warfare and savagery. Some of them showed themselves monsters of cruelty, torturing their captives, burning towns, and outraging women.

One of better kind, Captain William Parker, in 1602, captured Portobello and sailed away with a prize of ten thousand ducats. He was as mild-mannered a man as "ever scuttled ship or cut a throat." But another, a Frenchman named François l'Olonnois, performed acts of such incredible barbarity that he must have been a fiend in human shape. Having declared that he would give no quarter to a Spaniard, he captured a ship and beheaded, with his own hand, all the survivors save one. It is even recorded that he drank the blood that dripped from his cutlass and tore out men's hearts to devour them like a cannibal.

And yet this sea-wolf had a large following. In 1660, with six ships and seven hundred men, he landed on the

coast of Honduras. At first he penetrated into the country, sacking Indian villages and murdering the natives with terrible cruelties. Then turning upon the Spanish settlements, he besieged the town of San Pedro, thirty-six miles from Puerto de Caballos. At first the town was desperately defended; but so many of the inhabitants were killed that the rest consented to surrender on condition that they should be allowed two hours to retire. To this the buccaneer agreed, and they filed out; but as soon as the two hours were up he pursued them in the hope of plunder. All their valuables, however, had been so skilfully hidden that he obtained only a quantity of indigo.

After some further marauding, in which little booty was obtained, some of the captains became discontented and deserted. The buccaneer and some of his men finally landed near the Gulf of Darien. Here, it is almost a pleasure to record, he and nearly all his companions were seized by the Indians and their bodies cut up and roasted.

In the meantime another buccaneer, named Mansvelt, had landed on the coast and marched across the Isthmus to pillage the town of Natá. Repulsed here he attacked the town of Cartago in Costa Rica, but again the colonists had been warned, and they gave him so hot a reception that he was obliged to retire to his ships. With Mansvelt on this expedition was Henry Morgan, destined to become the most famous of all the buccaneers.

By birth a Welshman, Morgan had been kidnapped in his early youth and shipped to Barbadoes. There he was sold into temporary slavery and served his term like other redemptioners. A victim of brutal treatment, he became brutalized and in after years inflicted on his prisoners every kind of indignity and cruelty. Possessing great courage and cunning, he was one of the most unscrupulous rascals that ever lived. He even disregarded the common rule of "honesty among thieves," for he robbed his companions of their share of the ill-gotten gains, and was as meanly avaricious as he was brutally cruel. Drake respected women and was always

their protector. Morgan handed over female prisoners to the lust of his men or reserved them for the gratification of his own.

As soon as he was released from slavery, Morgan joined the buccaneers and rose rapidly to a high position among them. All sorts of desperate characters flocked to his standard, until he had a fleet of twelve vessels and seven hundred men.

In 1664, after a successful foray on the coast of Cuba, Morgan set sail for the mainland of Central America with nine vessels and four hundred and sixty men. The object of this expedition was kept secret from his crews, but as he promised rich booty, he was blindly followed. When he reached the shores of Castilla del Oro, he announced his intention of taking Portobello, captured by Parker in 1602, and famed as a rendezvous of rich merchants as well as a place of deposit for the treasures of Peru on their way to Spain. This distinction was formerly enjoyed by Nombre de Dios, but in 1597 it had been transferred to Portobello.

Expecting the attacks of the buccaneers at any time, the Spaniards had taken the precaution to fortify their coast towns in the strongest manner. It was believed that Portobello was especially well protected against attack. The town was guarded by castles, commanding every approach and by a body of three hundred soldiers and several hundred militia.

At first Morgan's men were intimidated by the strength of the defences, but their commander cheered them on by declaring that if their number was small, their hearts were great, and that the fewer they were, the more union there would be and the better shares they would have in the spoil.

Landing to the west of the town, the buccaneer led his men to the attack of a castle that commanded the eastern suburb. It was night and the first intimation that the inmates had of his approach was a peremptory order to surrender under pain of death. Instead of yielding, however, they answered with a volley of musketry and cannon shot. The besiegers, in their turn, threw scaling ladders against

the walls and climbing up, took the castle by assault. The punishment for resistance was quick and terrible. Placing his prisoners in a large room near the magazine, Morgan set off the powder by a fuse, and blew prisoners and castle into the air.

The inhabitants of the town were thoroughly aroused by this act of vengeance, and as they rushed out into the streets, the buccaneers cut them down on every side. It looked as if the town would be captured without further resistance, but the governor was a man of indomitable spirit in time of danger. Taking refuge with a strong guard in another of the forts, he turned his artillery on the invaders and inflicted such heavy casualties that they were thrown into confusion, and Morgan himself began to fear that his men were lost. Just then, however, he noticed that the English colors had been planted on the top of one of the lesser forts, and that his successful companions were coming to his aid. He now determined to resort to an expedient similar to the one used a few years later by Nathaniel Bacon in the siege of Jamestown. Seizing the priests and nuns in their cloisters, he drove them in front of his men at the point of the sword and forced them to set the ladders against the walls of the fort, with the expectation that the defenders would refuse to fire upon their own people. The captives, thus forced forward to the mouth of the cannon, fell upon their knees and prayed the governor to save his life and theirs by surrendering. The old man remained unmoved. Nun and priest alike were shot down or crushed by falling rocks. But the buccaneers, profiting by the diversion, and in spite of heavy loss, swarmed up the ladders and leaping over the parapets, assaulted the defenders like demons. Nothing could withstand them. The governor, however, refused for himself every offer of quarter, and actually cut down those of his immediate companions who offered to surrender. The English tried to capture him alive; but in vain. "I had rather die as a valiant soldier than be hanged as a coward," he cried. So they were forced to kill him where he stood.

The garrison, lacking his desperate courage, yielded up their arms.

With the aid of the cannon captured in the fort and now manned by his captives, Morgan overcame the resistance of the other forts, and soon found himself master of the town. For the rest of the night there was, as usual among such desperadoes, a scene of wild debauchery. The victors gave themselves up to drunkenness and the gratification of lust. The nuns were dragged from the protection of the altar, the widow from the body of her dead husband, young girls from the side of their mothers—all alike to be subjected to foul outrage. And then for a time the outlaws slept to gain strength for the plunder of the morrow. On the following day the pillage began. Church and home were sacked. Those who were believed to have concealed any valuables were tortured until some kind of confession was wrung from them.

For two weeks the conqueror remained at Portobello, hoping to extort from his prisoners a ransom of one hundred thousand pesos. He soon learned that the president of Panama was preparing to send against him a force of one thousand five hundred men; but he seems to have experienced no fear. Sending out a body of his men to an advantageous position, he defeated a large force of troops from Panama so signally that they retired panic-stricken to that city, and no further effort was made against him. The base president is said to have actually sent him, in admiration of his prowess, a present of a handsome ring, with a polite message to the buccaneer that he regretted that men of such courage were not employed in some just war under a great prince. It should be added, however, that another chronicler states the matter differently, saying that the message was that Morgan had better not come to Panama; for he should not speed so well there as he had at Portobello.

Elated by his success, Morgan collected his ransoms, loaded his plunder on board his ships, and sailed away to Cuba. Here a division of the booty was made. Besides

the merchandise, the gold and jewels amounted to two hundred and sixty thousand pesos.

The buccaneers passed quickly from wealth to want. As soon as their shares had been squandered in gambling and debauchery, the outlaws began to demand another expedition into new fields of operation. Morgan was nothing loath to comply. He was all the more eager because he learned that Spain had been clamoring for redress at the English court, and that Charles II had consented or was about to consent to sign a treaty which should put a stop to further depredations of Englishmen in the West Indies. This treaty, known as the treaty of America, was actually signed in 1670, and though it was not thoroughly enforced, it helped in time to check buccaneering.

The prospect of its ratification now decided Morgan to hasten, before it was too late, to accomplish some great and daring act of plunder, and he made his preparations on a large scale. His fame as a successful robber had spread far and wide; and by sending out notices to the various captains of the buccaneers, he had no difficulty in gathering together a fleet of thirty-seven vessels and two thousand men for a last expedition.

Remembering the gift of the handsome ring and the easy victory over the forces of Panama, he held a council of his officers, which decided to capture that rich city. Hoisting the English flag as if he were a privateer, he gave commissions to his officers to wage war against the Spaniards as declared enemies of the English king, and he himself, with rare impudence, assumed the title of admiral.

Stopping at the island of Santa Catarina, the admiral sent forward a part of his fleet under Captain Bradley to capture the strong castle of San Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagres river. When the buccaneers reached the coast, the defenders of the fort hurled defiance at them, crying out: "Come on, ye English dogs, enemies to God and our king; ye shall not go to Panama this bout." The English immediately laid siege, but the Spaniards defended themselves

Sir Henry Morgan.

*After the copperplate in possession of the Loganian Library, Philadelphia.*

so bravely that it looked as if they might successfully beat off their assailants. A curious incident, however, turned the tide of battle against them. One of the English was struck by an arrow, but not seriously hurt. Drawing it from the wound, he twisted some cotton about it, and fired it back from his musket. It struck on the thatched roof of a house, and the cotton being ignited by the powder, started a conflagration which demanded all the attention of the besieged to extinguish it. This gave the buccaneers their opportunity. Fire was quickly applied to the palisades that protected the fort, and in the early morning, after a night of horror, the place was taken by assault. As soon as they were in possession the victors showed themselves the brutes they were by crowding the women prisoners into a church and turning the sanctuary into a brothel. Verily these cutthroats feared neither man nor God.

Awaiting the tidings of these events at Santa Catarina, Morgan heard with grim joy the report of his captain. Now the way was open for the sacking of the city of Panama. In January, 1671, the fleet cast anchor at the mouth of the Chagres. Having garrisoned the captured fort as a stronghold of refuge in case of disaster, Morgan chose one thousand two hundred men and began the passage of the Isthmus. As food was scarce, he took only a small amount of Indian corn, hoping to provision his army on the way. The first part of the journey was by boats up the swift current of the river and progress was not so rapid as he had hoped. The men were soon forced to make long tramps through the great forests and dense thickets of the interior in search of food. They found so little that many were overcome with hunger and fatigue, and cursing their commander for leading them into such straits, they threatened to return to the coast. The Spaniards, informed of the raid, had stationed bodies of troops along the route to ambuscade the invaders; but in every case they seem to have retired before the marauders without making any demonstration. Even the village of Cruces, twenty-four miles from

Panama, was deserted. As they approached it, the buccaneers saw smoke arising and cried out that this was the fire to cook their dinners; but they soon found that the Spaniards before their departure had set the houses on fire and taken their provisions with them. However, all the cats and dogs of the neighborhood were killed and their flesh cooked and served up to the famished soldiers, who washed it down with copious draughts of wine. This unusual banquet caused so much illness that the troops could not proceed for a few days.

On the ninth day they ascended a high hill, still called *El cerro de los Buccaneros,* and beheld for the first time the Pacific, on the bosom of which a few sailing vessels were gliding about. In the valley beneath them their eyes were gladdened by the sight of a herd of cattle. These were immediately shot down and the flesh cooked over hasty fires. As the men plucked the half-raw morsels from the coals and devoured them, the blood flowed over their beards and down upon their clothes.

They were now in sight of the city of Panama. Only a few ruins mark the site to-day where the city then stood, with its fine residences, its stately churches, its warehouses stored with flour, wine, and oil, and its surrounding fields covered with grain. It was a goodly sight that the buccaneers gazed upon, and their hearts yearned for the riches they hoped to obtain. The city had grown wealthy in the century and a half of its existence, and all this wealth they believed the fortunes of war would now put into their hands.

The Spaniards, on their side, were equally sure that they could defend it. The force which they now opposed to Morgan consisted of four hundred horse and two thousand four hundred infantry, with a few pieces of cannon, and, curious to relate, two thousand wild oxen, corralled by Indians. These last, like the elephants of Pyrrhus, were to be driven into the ranks of the enemy in order to create disorder and confusion.

When Morgan saw this force drawn up on the plain in front of the city, he showed no signs of dismay, but coolly prepared for battle. First of all, the Spaniards sent a strong detachment of cavalry against him, but he met them with a picked body of sharpshooters, who drove them back in confusion. Then the president, Don Juan Perez de Guzman, appeared upon the scene. He was a pious, but timid man, better fitted for a monastery than for the strenuous duties that lay before him. For many days he had been busy attending masses for the safety of the city and repeating innumerable Ave Marias. While Morgan showed consummate ability in the management of his forces, Guzman showed only weakness and inefficiency.

After the defeat of the cavalry, the Spaniards sent forward their infantry; but after a sharp engagement, these, too, were thrown into disorder and forced to retire. Worst of all, the wild cattle, intended to trample down the enemy, were stampeded by the buccaneers, and rushing into the fleeing lines of the Spaniards, added to the confusion.

In two hours the battle was over. Six hundred Spaniards lay dead upon the field, and no quarter was shown to those that fled. Even the Franciscan friars offering the consolations of religion to the wounded and dying were ruthlessly cut down. The president, however, escaped from the bloody field, and was sought for in vain.

In another hour Morgan had occupied Panama, and his men were plundering the houses. Soon, however, flames were seen to break out, and though some effort was made to check them, they quickly destroyed the main buildings. Thus perished a city of seven thousand houses, two hundred warehouses, and thirty thousand inhabitants. The admiral, however, was balked of much of his hoped-for treasure; for a ship loaded heavily with jewels and ornaments from the churches, as well as with the wealth of the merchants, slipped away in the night.

Bands of men having been sent out to pillage the surrounding country, the rest of the buccaneers began their

usual scenes of torture to discover hidden treasure, and outrage to satisfy the passions of the soldiery. Morgan, himself, carried off the beautiful wife of a rich merchant, whom he strove in vain to subdue to his desires, first by gifts and then by cruelty. On his retreat she was dragged along for several days between two buccaneers, until finding that he could neither break her determination nor obtain a ransom, he released her. Other women fared still worse, and the air was filled with their shrieks and lamentations as they were haled along in the train of the commander.

On his arrival at the mouth of the Chagres river, Morgan divided the plunder among the captains and men. It is estimated by different chroniclers at widely varying amounts. One says it was one hundred and fifty thousand pesos; another that it was four and a quarter million pesos. In any case the expectations of the buccaneers ran high, and the common soldiers were hugely disgusted when they received only two hundred pesos apiece. The admiral was promptly accused, doubtless with justice, of secreting jewels and of taking the lion's share of everything for himself.

The clamor grew so great that Morgan, fearing the vengeance of the outlaws, took ship secretly and sailed away to Jamaica. Soon after his arrival, there came a new governor from England with orders to pardon past offences, but to enforce in the future the provisions of the treaty of America.

The rest of Morgan's career, as Fiske says, reads like a comic opera. Taking advantage of the amnesty, he sailed away to England. Here, perhaps by a judicious use of his ill-gotten gains, he obtained from Charles II the honor of knighthood. Later Sir Henry Morgan, incredible as it may sound, was appointed vice-president of Jamaica and commissioner of the Admiralty Court. As a judge he treated buccaneers with much severity; but when the Catholic James II came to the throne of England, Spain brought charges against him of conniving with pirates, and for a time he was imprisoned. His career marks the culminating point in the history of buccaneering. Lawless bands still continued to

infest both the Mexican Gulf and the South Sea; but their operations were of minor importance as compared with those of this notorious rascal.

One of the results of Morgan's raid was that the Spanish government decided to abandon the old site of the city of Panama and to build another larger and stronger city on a deep bay six miles distant. The work was begun in 1671, and no expense was spared to make the fortifications impregnable to buccaneers. The wall that surrounded the city was twenty feet high, in places even forty feet; and ten feet thick, and was strengthened by the usual watch towers and forts. Like a mediæval town it was separated from the mainland by a deep moat. The harbor was so well protected by coral reefs running out a mile into the bay, that large ships could not approach dangerously near.

The city was laid out with great care in the form of a square. Its chief buildings were of brick and stone, and the church architecture made it remarkable among the cities of the new world. The bells for the new cathedral were cast in Spain, and the occasion was marked by a kind of religious ceremony, during which the queen and the high dignitaries of the court were so moved by pious enthusiasm that they threw into the melting pots the gold and silver ornaments that they wore.

Before the city was completed, however, the buccaneers came swarming around it, hoping that it might be taken by surprise and looted as before. But the fortifications were so strong and so well watched that they had to content themselves with sacking Santa Maria and other towns along the coast, or capturing such vessels as ventured in their way.

In every case where there was a conflict with the Spaniards, the latter showed themselves degenerate descendants of the conquerors, and whatever the superiority of their numbers, they often fled at the first sight of the buccaneers. The Indians, on their part, seem to have gladly assisted the robbers, and to have viewed with satisfaction the retribution that was falling on their own cruel conquerors. When the

Spanish treasure ships left Lima for Panama, it was with fear and trembling. They had to be convoyed by a powerful fleet of armed vessels, which, instead of trying to exterminate the pirates that infested the coast, considered itself lucky to escape them. Like the Algerine pirates of a later day in the Mediterranean, the buccaneers sailed triumphantly the waters of the South Sea until the end of the seventeenth century. Then their gains having become small, they yielded place to the legitimate traders. In accordance with the treaty of America some of them that ventured back to Jamaica or to England were seized on complaint of Spain and hanged. Others, claiming commissions from the Indian chiefs of Darien, whom they described as independent of the Spanish government, were tried and acquitted.

The wild and bloody adventures of the buccaneers on sea and land have been made the subject of many romances, in which these modern vikings have often been transformed from cut-throats into heroes.

## CHAPTER XI

### *SETTLEMENT OF THE SCOTS IN DARIEN—WAR WITH ENGLAND*

One of the strangest chapters in the history of Central America is that which records the attempt of a Scotchman named William Paterson to found a colony on the Isthmus of Panama. Paterson was a merchant, who at the end of the seventeenth century had distinguished himself by proposing a scheme for financing the national debt of England, a scheme which a few years later resulted in the establishment of the great Bank of England. Having travelled in the West Indies and visited Darien, he had been so enchanted by its commercial possibilities, that he now conceived the wild plan of settling this region with his own countrymen and of controlling the trade of the two oceans.

To carry out such a plan large capital was necessary, but here he was aided by his success in the banking business, and by the speculative spirit of the age, which culminated some years later in the disasters of the South Sea Scheme and the Mississippi Bubble.

In 1695 Paterson and his friends easily persuaded the Scottish parliament to pass a statute and then obtained from the representative of the crown letters patent, authorizing them to plant colonies in Asia, Africa, or America, wherever there was no Christian prince in possession, or wherever they could make terms with the natives. Under this vast and vague charter Paterson really purposed to found the colony in Darien. Such a colony, he now declared, would not only

draw rich products from the soil of that region, but would hold "the door to the seas and the key to the universe." "The settlers of Darien," in the eloquent words of the prospectus, "would become the legislators of both worlds and the arbitrators of commerce. They would acquire a nobler empire than Alexander or Cæsar, without fatigue, expense, or danger, as well as without incurring the guilt and bloodshed of conquerors."

It may naturally be asked whether the claims of Spain to the Isthmus of Panama were not considered; for that country had held possession of the province for two hundred years, and though some of the native tribes were not subdued, it had discovered the land, made settlements in it, and asserted the right of occupation against the world. The new company, with a fine scorn of these patent facts, proclaimed that it challenged the Spaniards to prove their right to the province by inheritance, possession, or conquest, adding that it also refused to recognize any right through a papal donation. Paterson, himself, asserted that while the Spaniards held dominion to the east and to the west, the intermediate territory of forests and mountains had not been subdued and was in the possession of rude, unconquered tribes.

The sum necessary for this great enterprise was fixed at six hundred thousand pounds, and subscriptions having been opened in Scotland, England, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, the full amount was taken. Scotland, accounted a poor country, subscribed to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds, a kind of frenzy having seized the people to take advantage of this golden opportunity. The rich and the poor alike vied with each other to secure the stock. The savings of years were poured into the coffers of the company. The total cash payments amounted in all to two hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Violent opposition to the whole scheme, however, soon developed among the English merchants. As soon as they understood Paterson's plans, they became jealous of the

trade monopoly acquired by the Scots, and foreseeing a collision with Spain, they feared that England would be compelled to defend the interests of the company in the New World. The English Parliament, also, after investigating the matter, made an unfavorable report. Then the King, William III, who had no confidence in the enterprise, and who had been absent from England when the letters patent were granted, now used his influence to have all the subscriptions withdrawn except the Scottish.

Thereupon the Scots, to show their spirit of independence, subscribed one hundred thousand pounds more, and purchased ships and supplies for the expedition. The charter of the company gave them large powers. They were to plant colonies, fit out men-of-war, make treaties with princes and governors, and exercise control over mines and fisheries. The direction of the enterprise was entrusted to a council of seven, of whom Paterson was one. It was provided that the name of the country should be New Caledonia.

The departure of the first ships in 1698 was one of the strangest scenes that Scotland had ever witnessed. Twelve hundred persons, of whom three hundred were the flower of the Scottish youth, were permitted to embark; but a thousand more were eager to go. Many climbed on board the vessels, and clinging to the masts and rigging, had to be put off by force. A vast multitude stood on the shore in silent prayer as the little fleet sailed away, bearing the hopes of Scotland.

On the 4th of November the vessels arrived at the abandoned site of Acla on the coast of Darien, not far from the gulf of the same name. Here the colonists proceeded with their own hands to make a little settlement, to which they gave the name of New Edinburgh, and planned another called New St. Andrews. From the Indians lands were purchased, a fort was built, and conciliatory messages sent to the Spanish governors.

As long as the provisions lasted, all went well, and favorable reports were sent back to Scotland. But with the

coming of summer a deadly sickness attacked the unacclimated Scots. Ten or twelve died each day. "It was folly to suppose," says Macaulay, "that men born and bred within ten degrees of the Arctic Circle would enjoy excellent health within ten degrees of the Equator." Yet Paterson, himself down with fever, besought his colonists to endure the malaria and the tropical heat until cool weather should come again. Finally they refused to listen to him, and embarking on three vessels they sailed away. Paterson begged to be allowed to remain with thirty men to hold the land, but he was taken on board in spite of his protests. His wife was buried in the soil of Darien, and he was so broken by fever and disappointment that for a time he lost his mind. The sickness that had afflicted the men on land pursued them on the sea. Over four hundred perished in that awful voyage.

Soon after their departure, provisions and more settlers arrived from Scotland, and later an important expedition of one thousand three hundred persons. When these arrived they found to their grief and dismay that the buildings of New Edinburgh had been destroyed and nothing remained but ruins. Some efforts were made to rebuild the houses, but provisions were so scarce that five hundred settlers were immediately shipped back to Scotland.

In the meantime Spain, always jealous of her possessions, had sent the inevitable protest to the King of England, declaring that her territory had been invaded and that she would protect herself against such intruders. England was not disposed to interfere.

In 1700 three hundred more settlers arrived from Scotland under Captain Campbell. The Spaniards, now thoroughly aroused to the danger of this encroachment on their rights of discovery, prepared expeditions by sea and land against the settlement, though they might better have waited for the deadly climate to do their work for them. Their land expedition was met by Campbell and defeated; but when he returned to the fort, he found himself besieged by a Spanish fleet. He defended himself for awhile; but when

the water supply was cut off by the enemy and provisions began to run short, the settlers agreed to surrender on condition that they should be allowed to depart with all their goods. The Spaniards consented and actually assisted the wretched remnant to embark. Three hundred of the last arrivals had already perished of disease; all but two of the vessels were lost at sea, and only thirty of those who embarked ever reached Scotland. It has been estimated that in this foolhardy attempt at colonization, Scotland lost not only several hundred thousand pounds, but also nearly two thousand of her sons.

Poor Paterson was a visionary, but there was some truth in his visions. Had he lived until the twentieth century he would have seen one of his visions realized; he would have seen the wealth of the nations passing across the Isthmus that joins the two continents.

The failure of the Scottish colony, however, by no means ended the relations of Panama with the English-speaking people. The mines of the Isthmus as well as the pearl fisheries, which, as was mentioned above, had greatly declined in productivity at the close of the sixteenth century, were once more industriously worked at the close of the seventeenth century. The labor of negro slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes was utilized, and large returns were obtained. Big pockets of gold, overlooked before, were now laid bare, and pearls worthy to be worn by kings were fished up once more. As it was the custom to allow even the slaves a share of their findings, many of them, by hoarding their wages and by stealing the gold dust, laid up small fortunes. It is related that at some of the balls they were fond of giving to their dusky sweethearts, the females appeared with their hair full of ornaments and so powdered with gold dust that it sprinkled the floor as they danced.

Panama now became the gold centre of the Spanish provinces, and in the first quarter of the eighteenth century the crown of Spain began to derive large royalties. Such a revival of the mining industry, moreover had the double

effect of increasing the demand for slaves and of arousing in the English a desire to share in the prosperity of the Isthmus.

Spain was now a weak and declining country as compared with France and England, and the latter had secured a great access of power as the result of her victories under Marlborough in the War of the Spanish Succession. This war, which was ended by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), brought England large concessions of territory in the New World from France, and by an accompanying treaty, the Asiento, important commercial privileges from Spain.

She received the sole right for thirty years to import slaves into the Spanish colonies on condition that the Spanish crown should receive a royalty on each one, and also a handsome loan from the contractors. One hundred years later England would have rejected with scorn such an opportunity; she now accepted it with eagerness and began to pour African slaves into the Spanish possessions.

There was in the Asiento another provision of which the British merchants quickly availed themselves and in a manner characteristic of the period. It gave England the right to send annually to Panama one ship of six hundred tons laden with European merchandise. The vessel was regularly sent, but it was accompanied by a number of smaller vessels laden in like manner, which, when the cargo of the larger vessel was sold out, approached by night and reloaded it again and again. A desire for the goods on the part of the colonists and a skilful bribery of the officials permitted this illegal traffic to continue for years. While it lasted it ruined the commerce of Spain with her Central American colonies; and her merchant ships, save those that came to gather the royalties on the mines, were hardly seen in the Caribbean.

From this unlawful beginning English traders soon began to carry on an extensive system of smuggling in other parts of Spanish America. This led to retaliation and many of their vessels, suspected of illicit trading, were seized by the

*guardacostas* and their crews maltreated. In some cases even vessels engaged in legitimate trade with the English West Indies, it was claimed, were searched on the high seas. England demanded damages, and was as eager to retaliate as if her smugglers had not caused the original trouble.

Finally, in 1739, England declared war against Spain, and decided to send a strong fleet to the West Indies to protect commerce and to make reprisals on the Spanish. This war is often called the "war of Jenkins's Ear," because a certain Captain Jenkins precipitated it by appearing before the House of Commons and exhibiting his ear, which he asserted had been torn from his head on the high seas by the captain of a *guardacosta*. During a debate in Parliament at this time, one of the members said that Portobello was so well fortified that it could not be taken except by a fleet of fifty or sixty men-of-war. Whereupon another member arose and said: "I will forfeit my life if I cannot take it with six ships." It was Captain Edward Vernon, afterwards vice-admiral. His offer was accepted, he was placed in command of a fleet, and, in July, 1739, set sail for the West Indies.

When he approached the coast of Central America he had under him seven vessels, but he ordered one to sail along the coast of South America, so that, according to his promise, he might attack Portobello with only six. These, however, were heavily armed, and were manned by two thousand seven hundred and thirty-five sailors and soldiers.

Portobello had been rebuilt since the time of its capture, and the Spanish garrison now defended it with great spirit. The guns of the Iron Castle, as one of the forts was called, were used with great effect upon the English squadron, but the splendid marksmanship of the English with large and small arms made such havoc in the fort that the besieged soon hoisted the white flag. On the following day the rest of the town was surrendered.

Unlike the piratical Morgan, Vernon ordered that there should be no pillage and no injury to the inhabitants, though

he seized a government treasure of ten thousand pesos. The fortifications, moreover, were destroyed and all the best cannon carried off.

A little later the English commander captured the strong fortress of San Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagres river; but he signally failed to carry by assault the well fortified city of Cartagena in South America—to his great disappointment.

In the meantime England had already planned a still more important movement against Spain. If it had been successful, it might have overthrown the power of that country in the New World. Commodore Anson was sent around Cape Horn to attack the Spanish colonies on the western coast of South America, then to move north to Panama, and to coöperate with Vernon in an attack upon the Isthmus. The scheme was well planned, but it miscarried. The crews of Anson's ships were undisciplined and wretchedly inefficient. Dreadful storms were encountered which delayed the progress of the expedition, and many of the men were taken down with the scurvy. He managed, however, to capture one Spanish town on the western coast, but before he reached Panama, he heard of the repulse of Vernon at Cartagena. His fleet was now reduced to one ship, the *Centurion*, and despairing of coöperation, he turned westward, and after capturing a Spanish treasure ship, valued at five hundred thousand pounds, he circumnavigated the globe.

Admiral Vernon, after his failure at Cartagena, decided that he must accomplish some great deed before returning to England. Having received large reinforcements at Jamaica, he sailed once more to Portobello, with the intention of crossing the Isthmus and besieging the city of Panama. When he reached the coast, however, the rainy season had set in, and many of his men were sick. A council of war decided that it would be folly, under the circumstances, to attempt such an expedition, and the fleet returned to Jamaica. In spite of his success at Portobello, Vernon lost so many of his men by sickness, and by death in the attack on

Cartagena, that his expedition was regarded as a failure. His name was commemorated in America by Lawrence Washington, who was with him at Cartagena, and who afterwards named his Virginia estate Mount Vernon in his honor.

During the rest of the eighteenth century there was a rapid decline in agriculture and mining on the Isthmus. Under the constant dread of war and pillage to which it had been subjected for a hundred years, the arts of peace could not flourish. Spain, however, having learned the lesson of experience, began to pursue a more liberal policy towards her own merchants, and there was less opportunity for contraband trade of all kinds.

Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. *From the painting by P. Ortega.*

## CHAPTER XII

### *CENTRAL AMERICA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*

HAVING traced the history of Panama to the close of the eighteenth century, we turn now to the more northern provinces, which constitute Central America proper.

In 1787 the captain-generalcy of Guatemala included the thirteen provinces of Soconusco, Chiapas, Suchitepec, San Miguel, Vera Paz, Izalcos, Jerez de la Choluteca, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, San Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. While thus subjected to a common rule, some of the provinces at least seem to have enjoyed a civil and military government of their own.

During the eighteenth century Costa Rica presents nothing of special interest. The government was so badly conducted that little profit accrued either to the people or the crown from a country supposed to be rich in minerals and bearing the flattering name of the Rich Coast.

During the same period, however, that portion of Nicaragua and Honduras which lies along the Caribbean Sea was the scene of exciting events. This tract of country, known to the Spaniards as Mosquito Land or Mosquitia, was inhabited by a tribe of Indians, who called themselves Misskitos. The common name for them, however, was Sambos, and it is supposed that they were the offspring of runaway negro slaves and Indian women.

Though often attacked by the Spaniards, the Sambos had maintained a practical independence and had showed themselves to be fierce and able warriors. Their weapons were

the bow and arrow, the latter being tipped with poison obtained from the manzanílla tree. As there was constant war between the Sambos and the Spaniards, the buccaneers took advantage of the fact to make Mosquitia their headquarters for raids on the Spanish towns. Gradually in the seventeenth century some British settlements were made in the country, which may well have owed their origin to reformed buccaneers.

While Admiral Vernon, in 1740, was waging war on the lower coast, the British made a kind of treaty with the king of the Sambos, and obtaining from him a grant of land, raised the British flag on the coast. This was followed by the appointment of a superintendent of the coast, who was subject to the governor of Jamaica.

So great was the opposition of Spain to these encroachments on her territory that, at the conclusion of peace in 1763 (Treaty of Paris), England agreed to withdraw from all military occupation of the coast, though she covenanted that the numerous cutters of logwood who had established themselves in the country should be allowed to remain. This arrangement not proving satisfactory, another treaty was made between the two countries in 1786, by which England bound herself to evacuate the Mosquito land (now Zelaya), receiving in lieu thereof, a portion of Yucatan and Honduras, which came to be known as Belize or British Honduras. At the same time Spain asserted her sovereignty over the country, merely permitting the occupation of it by the English for commercial purposes. This section of the coast seems also to have been settled originally by reformed buccaneers, who had employed themselves in the cutting of mahogany and dye woods, in which the country was particularly rich.

When war was declared between England and Spain in 1796, the governor of Yucatan made a final effort to expel the English occupants of Belize; but he was unsuccessful, and England, following her immemorial custom, gradually strengthened her hold upon the whole district from the river

Hondo on the north to the river Sarstoon on the south, which rivers now form the boundaries of a territory eight thousand square miles in extent.

While these events were taking place in Honduras and Yucatan, England made a bold attack on Nicaragua, which is especially interesting on account of the subsequent fame of one of the participants.

In 1769 England had made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Fort San Carlos, a strongly fortified place on the Lake of Nicaragua, near its outlet into the San Juan river. The governor of the fort was ill at the time; but his young daughter, a girl of sixteen, took command of the garrison and after an obstinate fight, beat off the besiegers. In 1779 there was a formal declaration of war between the two countries, and England turned her attention once more towards Nicaragua.

An expedition was now planned by General Dalling in Jamaica, which received the approval of the English government and which was expected to have momentous results. Having heard that Peru and other Spanish provinces were discontented with the mother-country, Dalling fitted out an army, which was to ascend the San Juan river, seize the Lake of Nicaragua, and by capturing Granada and Leon on the other coast, split the territory of the Spanish crown into two parts and overthrow its empire in the New World. At the same time it was proposed that the San Juan river, which already conveyed the commerce of Nicaragua to the Caribbean Sea, should be seized and held as a part of the inter-oceanic canal which, one day, was to join the two oceans.

The British colonies in North America, moreover, at this period (1780) seemed on the point of being lost, and it was thought that a new dominion in the south might take their place under the British flag. It was a far-reaching scheme. Had not climate and disease militated against it, it might have been carried to fulfilment.

In 1780, one year before the defeat of the British arms at Yorktown, all was ready. The force consisted of more

than one thousand eight hundred men under the command of Major John Polson, with five hundred marines under Horatio Nelson, the future hero of Trafalgar, who was now a valiant young captain of twenty-three.

Nelson touched on the Mosquito coast to collect the Sambo allies, who were to act as pilots and to furnish boats for the trip up the river. At the mouth of the San Juan his orders permitted him to leave his marines under the command of Polson; but as the country was new to them, he decided to continue with them during the expedition, and look after their welfare.

Taking boats, the marines and the soldiers began to ascend the river, meeting with great difficulties on account of the shallows, and the fierce heat of the sun. On the 9th of April, however, they arrived at the small island of San Bartolemeo, about forty-eight miles from the lake. It had been fortified by the Spaniards to prevent the passage of the enemy, and was held by a small garrison with several swivel guns. To take this fort was for Nelson the affair of only a few minutes. Leaping on shore at the head of his marines, he sunk so deep into the mud that he lost his shoes, but rushing forward on his bare feet, he *boarded* the battery, as he expressed it, and captured it.

Sixteen miles above the English reached the neighborhood of the fort of San Juan, but not wishing to approach it by water, they landed their supplies and marched through the woods. On the way one of the men, having been stung by a snake that darted at his face from the bough of a tree, died of the wound, and Nelson himself came near meeting a similar fate. He was lying in a hammock asleep when a "monitory" lizard ran across his face. An Indian, seeing this supposed sign of a deadly reptile's presence, woke him, and he discovered a most venomous snake coiled at his feet. Hardly had he escaped this danger when happening to drink of a spring into which some leaves of the manchineel tree had fallen, he was so badly poisoned that, it is said, his constitution never entirely recovered.

When the English reached the fort, Nelson advised that it be taken by assault, but the senior officer, more cautious, was in favor of a siege. This lasted ten days. With a battery placed on a neighboring hill the English shelled the fort until it surrendered. In the meantime, however, the rainy season had set in. Disease attacked the besiegers, medical supplies were lacking, and the mortality became so great that the bodies of the dead were thrown into the river or left to the carrion birds. Under the circumstances no advance into the interior could be made, and after spending five months of wretchedness in the neighborhood, the survivors reluctantly decided to retire from the fever-stricken country. Out of the one thousand eight hundred that came up the river, only three hundred and eighty reached Jamaica. Nelson, himself, seized with dysentery a few days after the siege began, had already been transported down the river. When he reached Jamaica, he was so ill that he returned on leave to England and recovered only after the most careful nursing.

Thus ended in disaster the second attempt of England to conquer the Spanish colonial possessions. They were defended better by nature than by the arms of Spain.

With the exception of the events just recorded nothing of great interest happened in Nicaragua during the eighteenth century. In spite of the governors and the ecclesiastics who cared for its secular and spiritual welfare, the province seems to have declined rather than improved in production. Some progress, however, does seem to have been made in gathering the Indians into towns and converting them.

Salvador was a portion of the vice-royalty of Guatemala; hence its history down to 1821 is included in the history of that province.

Guatemala itself was one of the most prosperous of the Spanish provinces. The capital, Guatemala City, had been subjected to terrible earthquakes and volcanic eruptions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but these disasters

seem to have endeared the land to the inhabitants rather than frightened them away. They clung to the city as the people of San Sebastiano, under the shadow of Vesuvius, cling to their homes. In 1773 it had two thousand five hundred inhabitants, and was second only to the City of Mexico in its wealth and the beauty of its architecture. Situated some five thousand feet above sea-level, it was surrounded by rich and well-cultivated fields, and its inhabitants enjoyed the luxuries of life. In that year, however, came terrible seismic disturbances, which laid the city in ruins and killed one hundred and thirty of the inhabitants. But again, like San Francisco of our own day, a new city arose, though on a neighboring site, and by 1800 was almost completed. The old capital, or Guatemala Antigua, is still in existence to the present day, but is far inferior to the new city in importance.

During the eighteenth century and the latter part of the seventeenth, some of the native tribes rose in revolt and every effort was made to subdue them. The expeditions met with some success, but one of the most warlike of the tribes, the Lacandones, it is said, have kept their independence to the present day. As we shall see, the Indians of this region preserve their original characteristics more faithfully than those of any other portion of Central America. Some writers attribute this fact to their pacific disposition, which left them undisturbed, but many of the tribes were by no means pacific. Other writers believe that their sullen resistance to the Spaniards prevented them from coming so fully under the influence of the conquerors. It should be added that the natives of the northern part of Central America more nearly resembled those of Mexico, and were of a more advanced type than those of the southern portion.

In a general review of the history of Central America from its discovery to the close of the eighteenth century, the historian Bancroft finds little in the government of Spain to praise and much to condemn. "We have seen," he says, "the sword and the cross side by side, without a shadow of

right and recompense, enter in and take possession of the broad area from Darien to New Spain; then sitting down to wrangle and to rest. During the process of gradual extinction the natives broke out in occasional rebellions, but for the most part they were docile and submitted with philosophic or Christian resignation to the inevitable, which was too often infamous on the part of civilization and Christianity." He adds that it was "a period of repose, the two and a half centuries of Central America's existence under Spain's audiences and governors, a period of apathy and stagnation as far as intellectual and moral progress are concerned. Nor is there much to be said in the way of material improvement. . . . The buccaneers and Scotch settlers were right enough in looking upon the Spaniards as intruders, having no more ownership in the country than they, except such as priority in wrongs committed gave them."

Such an arraignment of Spanish conquest and rule in Central America might be made with equal justice against the conduct of all the governments of Europe that have established themselves on this side of the Atlantic. To the present writer it seems a narrow and one-sided view of the aims and results of colonization among the barbarous tribes of America. The Spanish conquest, like the English or the French, may be looked upon in a larger way as an important step in the spread of civilization. It is true that this conquest was accompanied by many unjustifiable acts of cruelty—most of which were characteristic of the age—but even these are extenuated by the noble self-sacrifice of the missionaries who labored successfully to abolish human sacrifices and the enslavement of the natives, while striving less successfully to supplant the gospel of war with the gospel of peace. The life and teaching of Las Casas cast a kindly radiance over the entire period of subjugation. It should be remembered, also, that the conquest, though its details are repugnant to our sense of right, was heartily approved by the international law of the time. Now that the glamour that formerly invested the Indians of Cortés's day has been removed,

we see that even in Mexico they had not advanced beyond the middle stage of barbarism, and even the law of the twentieth century does not admit that barbarism has any rights which a civilized nation need respect.

We have already seen in this work that the coming of the Spaniards seemed to promise the gradual extinction of the natives, but those that survived profited immeasurably by the introduction of Christianity and of organized labor. Moreover, after they had passed through the severe ordeals to which the Spaniards subjected them, they seem to have increased in numbers and to have amalgamated with the Spaniards to a much greater extent than was the case in North America. The traveller Squier, who, as American *chargé d'affaires,* visited Central America in 1855—and it may have been true of a still earlier period—said it was the concurrent testimony of all intelligent persons in Central America that the pure whites were decreasing relatively and absolutely, and that the pure Indians were increasing rapidly, while the Ladinos (half-breeds) were more and more approximating to the original type.

During the long period that closed with the eighteenth century, Central America certainly contrasted unfavorably with English North America in mental, moral, and material progress. Whatever the mental and moral stagnation may have been due to, the lack of material progress may be attributed not only to the insalubrity of the climate in the lowlands, and the prodigality of nature which supplies the wants of man with such abundance that he is not encouraged to labor, but more especially to another cause. This was the almost total lack of self-government. Those who have no voice in political affairs and who receive their laws wholly from the mother-country, will not show the activity and the enterprise which distinguish self-governed communities. The nineteenth century thus opens a new era in Central American history.

## CHAPTER XIII

### *REVOLT AND INDEPENDENCE*

In order to understand the momentous events in Central America which ushered in the nineteenth century and led to independence, it will be necessary briefly to review the history of the mother-country during the first quarter of that century. For the important political changes that followed one another in Spain from 1808 to 1823 were accurately reflected on this side of the Atlantic.

In 1805 the combined fleets of Spain and France were defeated at Trafalgar by Lord Nelson, and the naval power of the two countries was completely broken. Two years later, Napoleon, who was now the dominant force in continental politics, began to send French troops into Spain, and soon the northern portions of the country were occupied by one hundred thousand of his soldiers. In 1808 the French marched on Madrid, and King Charles IV was obliged to abdicate in favor of his son, who became Ferdinand VII. Napoleon, however, had other plans for Spain. Having caused Ferdinand and his whole family to be transported to France, he held him and his father in his power until he compelled them to resign their claims to the throne. Then following his policy of advancing his own family, he gave the crown of Spain to his brother Joseph, the King of Naples. The chief council of Spain was induced to accept this imposition of a king, dictated by the tyrant of France; but the Spanish people, who had not been consulted as to

the change of rulers, rose in insurrection throughout many districts. An alliance with Great Britain brought the famous Wellington into Portugal, where he soon won an important victory over the French under Junot.

Napoleon now felt compelled to lead a large army into Spain for the restoration of his own power and that of his brother. While he remained in the country, he and his generals were eminently successful in reinstating French influence; but no sooner had war with Austria forced his departure than his generals found themselves struggling in vain against the hatred of the people and the increasing power of Wellington. By 1813 the French had nearly all been driven out of the country. In the same year Ferdinand VII, who had been kept a prisoner by Napoleon, was permitted to return to his distracted kingdom.

Spain, however, during his absence, had made great progress towards liberal government, while Ferdinand, like the Bourbons of France, "had learned nothing and forgotten nothing." In 1812 the central revolutionary junta at Seville had drawn up and published a constitution, which had great significance not only for Spain, but also for her colonial possessions. It established for Spain a constitutional monarchy; for the Indies it made important provisions. For instance, instead of the old cabildos in the town and cities, the offices of which were hereditary and could be sold, a local government was instituted, composed of members chosen by electors who had been chosen by the people. These new cabildos, which were to have charge of the internal police of their respective towns, were under the inspection of a governor, appointed in each province by the king, and of a council of seven, chosen by the electors. This council, which was to have charge of the economic matters of the province, was subject, like the city councils, to an appeal to the national Parliament or Córtes of Spain. Equality of representation was granted, except that descendants of Africans were deprived of political rights unless by special act in the case of worthy free-men-of-color. The provinces being regarded

no longer as dependencies but as an integral part of the kingdom, representation was granted to Central America, that country being permitted to send twelve deputies to the Córtes.

It will be seen that the government thus provided was more liberal than any previously granted. It was a great concession on the part of Spain, doubtless extorted from her by the spread of democratic ideas and the dread of revolution.

Before Ferdinand was allowed to ascend the throne, the Córtes required him to accept this new constitution. He gave his promise; but no sooner was he seated on the throne than he dissolved that body, reëstablished the Inquisition, declared the constitution null and void, and began a reign of despotism, which lasted from 1814 to 1820. In the latter year an insurrection of such magnitude broke out against him that, his own generals having deserted him, he was compelled to swear once more to observe the constitution of 1812. He even apologized for suspending it six years before in the colonies.

Spain, however, was torn by factions, one party advocating the older form of government, and the other the most liberal measures. At times anarchy reigned.

The chief powers of Continental Europe, dreading that the spread of liberal ideas might endanger their own crowns, now decided to intervene. Sending a large army into Spain, they forcibly restored the absolute power of Ferdinand (1823). That sovereign, immediately adopting a reactionary policy, revoked all the liberal acts since 1820, and permitted "the army of the faith" to plunder and murder the constitutional party at will. He would have sent the same army to reduce his colonial possessions to submission, had he not been stopped by the opposition of England to the coalition and by the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Let us now return to Central America and see how events in Spain affected the colonies.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there had already arisen in the Spanish possessions a strong party

favoring independence. The American Revolution and the French Revolution had not been without effect in other countries. Upon both there followed a new conception of the "rights" of man, which spread over Europe and was widely felt on this side of the Atlantic.

The Creoles (persons born in America of foreign parents, or their descendants), even where there was no admixture of Indian or negro blood, had long been looked down upon by the natives of Spain, who formed an oligarchy in office and an aristocracy in society. Except in the town councils the Creoles were almost entirely excluded from office. Of the one hundred and seventy viceroys who had ruled in America, says the historian Bancroft, "four only were of American birth and those were reared or educated in Spain. Out of six hundred and two captains-general, governors, and presidents, only fourteen were Americans. Of nine hundred and eighty-two bishops and archbishops, seven hundred and three were Europeans and two hundred and seventy-nine Creoles, and of these most were appointed in the earlier times, when Europeans were few and mitres afforded more work than money."

Besides the grievance of exclusion from office the Creoles made bitter complaints of the severe regulations enforced in regard to agriculture, mining, and commerce, and of the arbitrary conduct of their governors.

When, however, the news of Napoleon's interference in the affairs of Spain and of the accession of Joseph reached Central America, there seems to have been a reaction among the Creoles in favor of the dethroned monarch, Ferdinand VII. While the mother-country was in distress and under the heavy hand of the oppressor, her children in the New World must not desert her. Unlike Mexico, therefore, where, in 1810, the Creoles rose in open revolt against the oligarchy, the provinces of Central America, for the most part, remained in a quiescent state. The desire to await further developments was especially encouraged by the action of the revolutionary junta of Spain in inviting the provinces

to send deputies to represent them in the Córtes about to meet in 1810. As the time was too brief for the election of these deputies, proxies in Spain represented the American interests, and presented the grievances of the colonies. Fair promises of reform were promptly made, and when the deputies arrived, they were permitted to explain the long-continued abuses suffered at the hands of judges and other officials appointed by Spain in the New World.

The constitution of 1812, which was duly sent over, was well received in Guatemala, and was ratified by all classes with at least an appearance of loyalty. It seemed to declare that they were no longer colonists, but citizens of Spain. Yet, under the surface, there was still much discontent. The uprising in Mexico, though the Guatemalan government tried to conceal the news, was noised abroad and kept the people in a state of excitement. Moreover, though Spain had promised great reforms, she did not desire the independence of her colonies, and it was but natural that she should try to suppress all signs of disloyalty. The church joined the civil authorities in thundering against disaffection to the captive king. The friends of independence were declared to be traitors and renegades. A regular system of espionage was established for the detection of such traitors, with the usual result of increasing their number. The representative of the crown, General Bustamante, made himself particularly obnoxious by his arbitrary acts. In 1811 there were small outbreaks in Salvador and in the city of Leon, Nicaragua; but being premature, they failed, and the loyalists showed their disapproval of insurrection by sending over considerable sums of money to aid Spain in her struggle with Napoleon.

The masses, for the most part, were plunged in superstition and were easily persuaded to stand by the king as the representative of the Deity on earth. Only the more enlightened classes kept up the agitation. Bustamante permitted the local governments to be established; but he unwisely nullified all acts unfavorable to his own views.

When, in 1814, Ferdinand VII, on his accession, rejected the constitution which he had promised to observe, the public authorities in Central America, both lay and spiritual, were secretly pleased; but his action naturally opened the way to determined and successful revolution in the colonies. If the new constitution were to be suppressed in the mother-country, there would be no chance for a free government under the royal governors in Central America, unless by a declaration of independence. Thus the king, in securing despotic power for himself at home, was sacrificing his fairest provinces in the New World.

In 1820 discontent in Guatemala had reached great proportions. Like the volcano that overlooked the chief city, it was quiescent on the surface, but seething within and ready to burst into eruption at any moment. It was in the year in which, as we have seen, Ferdinand, forced by insurrection to restore the constitution of 1812, apologized to the provinces for the delay in establishing the governments provided for in that instrument, and ordered immediate steps to be taken to carry out the said provisions. In July, 1820, the provincial government was duly established in Guatemala City; but political factions were immediately formed, and new grievances came to light. The people were being gradually educated up to the idea of independence, and no halfway measures could long check the movement. The ball of freedom, once set in motion, moves like an avalanche.

The sentiments of the thoughtful classes were voiced in the following year by the American deputies in the Spanish Córtes. They laid before the members of that body a memorial, in which they stated very frankly what measures they regarded as necessary to prevent the separation of the American colonies from Spain. The rights of the Americans, they said, must be protected or they would be defended by the Americans. Even the constitutional government just established would not suffice to bring contentment unless public officials could be held responsible for their acts, and the three branches of the government could be made independent of

one another as in the constitution of the United States. Representatives in the Córtes could not be efficient unless they were trusted and supported by the colonial governments. Trade between the two countries must be treated just as trade between the ports of Spain and not as between mother-country and colonies. All offices should be open alike to Creoles and Spaniards.

For fear that Spain would not consent to cut off the revenue from her monopolies of trade, the deputies declared that the American provinces would contribute two million dollars annually for the support of the Spanish navy and a large sum for the liquidation of the national debt. The real solution of the whole question, they said, would be to establish in America autonomous governments.

Such governments, of course, Spain was not prepared to grant. Under them Spanish America would have borne about the same relation to Spain as the Canada of our day bears to England. To Spain in the first quarter of the nineteenth century this relation seemed identical with absolute independence.

While the deputies were arguing these questions, the tide of independence was swelling day by day. Only the government officials now held out. Even the church concluded that its best interests lay, not with the distracted government of Spain, but with the rising party of freedom.

Just at this time Chiapas, then a dependency of Guatemala, following the example of Mexico, declared its independence of Spain; whereupon Guatemala, in a fervor of excitement, did likewise. The people crowded into the government house and forced the officials to draw up a Declaration of Independence, September 21, 1821. Those who were opposed to decisive action, fearing violence, left the hall. A national congress of the provinces was called to meet in the following March and to frame a national constitution. In the meantime any one attempting to restore the Spanish rule was to be regarded as a traitor, though peaceable opponents were not to be troubled.

In separating from Spain Chiapas had also separated from Guatemala, and had decided to cast in its fortunes with those of Mexico. For this latter step Guatemala was not yet ready. In that province political parties were quickly formed; one adopting republican principles with equality of all classes in the state as a political platform, while the other favored aristocratic ideas, rejecting such glittering generalities as that "all men are created equal." The junta passed important acts to organize the finances, the industries, and the commerce of the country; and appointed as captain-general the leader of the independents, Gainza.

The example of the leading province was followed by the rest. In Salvador independence of the Spanish crown was declared in September, 1821—an act that was followed by such confusion that Guatemala sent thither a representative, who restored peace and presided over the new government.

In Honduras, also, independence was declared, but one of the districts decided to join Guatemala, while the others preferred to annex themselves to Mexico.

In Nicaragua the same story was repeated: Leon declaring for a union with Mexico, and Granada preferring to send representatives to the Congress in Guatemala.

On the 27th of October Costa Rica, also, passed an act of independence; but did not declare what attitude it would take towards the other provinces.

On November 28th Panama followed suit, but joined the republic of Colombia, with which it had natural affiliations.

Independence of Spain was now an accomplished fact in all the provinces of Central America; but the country, with the exception of Panama, was distracted by the question whether the provinces should act together through a congress in Guatemala or should attach themselves to the new empire established in Mexico. Guatemala sent out agents, urging attendance on the general congress, and at the same time watched the progress of events in Mexico.

Iturbide, who was now at the head of affairs in that country, was very desirous of bringing Central America

José Maria Morelos. *From the original painting in the palace, City of Mexico.*

under his sway, both to increase his power and to prevent Spain from reconquering it and threatening Mexico. Accordingly he sent a letter to the junta of Guatemala, urging that the province was too weak to stand alone and that it should join Mexico. The junta replied that the question of holding a general congress or of immediately joining Mexico must be settled by the vote of the people, and that within thirty days this vote should be taken. The letter of Iturbide, therefore, was sent to the various local governments, with instructions to take the sense of the people. In Guatemala city itself the votes of the heads of families were taken by agents, but it is not clear that the people at large were consulted by the local governments in the rest of the province. Some of the towns returned no answer; but the great majority of the others declared in favor of annexation to Mexico.

Thereupon the junta of Guatemala, after some discussion, decreed on January 5, 1822, that all Central America (except Panama) should be joined to the empire of Mexico, and the Captain-General Gainza issued a proclamation declaring that the proposed congress was unnecessary, and that all was well. In explanation of its action the junta declared that as Guatemala proper had voted for annexation and a number of the towns in Nicaragua and other provinces had previously voted in the same manner, it was clear that the majority of the people of the whole country desired to link their fortunes to those of Mexico. A number of deputies were accordingly sent to the Imperial Congress of Mexico, which pronounced the people of Chiapas and Guatemala to be Mexican citizens.

Disregarding the arbitrary ruling of Guatemala as to union with Mexico, Costa Rica held aloof, and so did the greater part of Salvador, the latter deciding that a general congress ought to be held, and that any towns seceding to join Mexico should be coerced. In Honduras and Nicaragua, also, some towns, fearing the tyranny of Mexico, persistently refused to approve the act of incorporation.

Iturbide, however, was not to be balked so easily in his plans. In order to bring the recalcitrants to their senses, he sent an army under General Filisola into Salvador, and having gained a victory over the troops of that province, forced it to accept annexation. Before doing so, Salvador made a bold but vain attempt to enlist the aid of the United States and to place itself under the protection of that power.

No sooner had the conquest of Salvador been made than Filisola received information that the government of Iturbide in Mexico had been overthrown and a republic established. Wishing to avoid civil war and feeling that he should not hold Central America to the alleged agreement now that Mexico had changed her form of government, he summoned all Central America to send delegates to a general congress.

With that rapid change of sentiment which characterizes the Latin races, there now appeared a universal enthusiasm for the congress. It met June 24, 1823, under José Matías Delgado as president, and assumed the name of the National Constituent Assembly. Like the National Assembly of France at the period of the Revolution it had a great work before it; its sessions were prolonged for a year and a half.

In July, 1823, this assembly declared the provinces formerly under the jurisdiction of Guatemala to be free and independent states, confederated into a nation under the name of the Provincias Unidas del Centro de America. To the formation of the Confederation Mexico had given her consent, and about a year later she acknowledged its independence. A new power had been born in the world, though it was one not destined long to endure. The city-states of Greece tried to combine into a union after the battle of Platæa. The states of Central America now thought themselves ready for a similar experiment. In both cases the jealousy of parties and of states made the scheme impracticable.

## CHAPTER XIV

### *UNION AND DISUNION*

The National Constituent Assembly differed in one particular from our own Constitutional Convention of 1787. The United States at that period had a Congress and a Constitution (the Articles of Confederation) under which some kind of general government could be carried on while the convention was framing the new instrument. The National Assembly of Central America, however, had to form a new constitution out of hand and in the meantime to provide a provisional government over the various states concerned. This government was made to consist of a legislative assembly, an executive of three persons, and a judiciary, the duties of which were to be performed by the existing courts. Laws were also passed, recognizing the public debt, the freedom of the press, and the Catholic religion as the religion of the state. This narrow religious policy was offset by decrees forbidding the slave trade, pronouncing free all slaves coming to Central America, and emancipating those already in the country. Those emancipated amounted only to about one thousand, and the indemnity offered to the owners, it is said, was claimed by none. Thus Central America can claim the honor of having been the first nation on our continent to emancipate its slaves.

In the convention there was an almost immediate alignment of political parties. Practically all were in favor of absolute independence, but these separated into the Moderates, called by their enemies Serviles or Aristocrats, and the

Radicals or Liberals, called by their enemies anarchists. One is reminded of the Girondins and the Mountainists in the National Assembly of France during the Revolution—a resemblance that is borne out by the fierce hatred with which the two American factions came to regard each other.

The Moderates wished a centralized government, with a continuation of the old laws and with Guatemala as a paramount influence in the Confederacy. The stronghold of this party was the city of Guatemala, which had been the seat of the vice-royal court and where the so-called native nobility was numerously represented. The Liberals were more radical in their views. They desired a federal republic, with the abolition of old abuses and unjust privileges, and no undue influence on the part of any state. Thus these two parties corresponded roughly to the Hamiltonians and the Jeffersonians in the first part of the nineteenth century.

In the first enthusiasm of independence the Liberals naturally had a majority, and the three provisional presidents were chosen from their ranks. Then having persuaded General Filisola to withdraw his troops, which were thought to exercise an undue influence over the action of the convention, this party proceeded to clear away old aristocratic forms, even the title of "don" being abolished by law, in imitation of a similar proceeding in the time of the French Revolution. A far less popular measure was a decree, ordering the executive to exclude from office all officials appointed by the Spanish or Mexican governments. This was a natural and salutary provision, but it aroused much discontent. About the same time the soldiers, who had not received their pay, were stirred into revolt by an ambitious leader, who gave much trouble before he was finally put down.

On the 22nd of November, 1824, the constitution was completed. On the 15th of April, 1825, it was sworn to, and on the first of September of the same year it was ratified by the National Congress. No further ratification by conventions of the people seems to have been thought necessary.

This fundamental law was modelled after the Constitution of the United States, though with some important modifications. Chiapas was omitted until it should apply for admission; but the other five states represented the original thirteen States of the American Union, each being given the same division of powers as the general government, with the same functions for internal administration.

The departments of the general government were the usual executive, legislative, and judicial. Unlike the strong executive of the United States, the president had no share in the making of the laws; he could neither approve, veto, nor suspend them. This office was performed by the senate, consisting of two members elected by the people from each state. Besides acting as an executive council for the revision of the laws, the senate nominated officials and supervised them in the discharge of their duties. If it refused to ratify an act, it could be made a law by a three-fourths' vote of the lower house or congress, which was a body elected by the people, one member for every thirty thousand inhabitants. Guatemala was to have seventeen representatives; Salvador nine; Honduras five; Nicaragua six, and Costa Rica two, which proportion indicates what was believed to be their relative populations. The judiciary was also elected by the people. As no federal district had been provided for the general government, it met in Guatemala City, which fact was a prolific source of trouble later on.

The enemies of this constitution affirmed with some justice that it was the *beau ideal* of imitators and dreamers; that there had been established a senate null and void, an executive that was impotent, and a congress that was absolute. Certainly the congress, with a three-fourths' majority, could override the other departments, and Guatemala with its seventeen representatives out of thirty-nine was sure to excite the jealousy of the smaller states. If that province had been willing to cede its capital as a federal district and move its local capital to the ancient city (Antigua), it would have helped matters greatly, but this action would have

reduced its representation in the congress and forced it to give up some important buildings, concessions it was not prepared to make. The new government needed some Benjamin Franklin to adjust the differences between the smaller and the larger states and to calm their animosities; but such a mediator was conspicuous by his absence.

A student of political science would have predicted the failure of a federal constitution lacking those "checks and balances" that distinguish the Constitution of the United States. But it was not the fundamental law alone that promised disaster; the people themselves were excitable and totally lacking in that experience of self-government which was the heritage of the people of the United States in 1787. Instead, therefore, of trying by calm discussion to amend the constitution and adapt it to the needs of the states, the political factions soon came to regard each other with bitter hatred and fomented a series of revolutions, unparalleled for number, if not for importance, in the history of the world.

The first Constitutional Congress of the Estados Federados de Centro America replaced the Constituent Assembly on the 6th of February, 1825. Two of the provisional presidents, José de Valle and Manuel José Arce, had been candidates before the Assembly for the office of first president; but neither having received the majority required by the constitution, the congress assumed the right to choose between them. The choice fell upon Arce, who was the preference of the Liberals, while Valle was designated as vice-president. The latter, believing that injustice had been done him by the action of the congress, declined the office, and Mariano Beltranena was selected in his place. At the same time the justices of the supreme court having been elected, they assumed the duties of their office.

The new republic was now generally recognized by the other powers. In the United States there had been for several years intense sympathy with the efforts of the Spanish colonies to throw off the yoke of the mother-country. There was naturally an earnest desire to see the spread of

republican principles on this continent to the exclusion of the monarchical forms of government existing in Europe. In 1822 the American government had acknowledged the independence of the revolted colonies, and in the following year the proclamation of President Monroe gave notice to Europe that any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, could not be viewed in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

In addition to this sympathy with colonies striving for self-government, the merchants of the United States desired trade with the Spanish possessions, which they knew would not be possible under the régime of Spain. In 1825 a treaty was negotiated between the United States and the Republic of Central America, in which favorable terms as to trade, reciprocal citizenship, etc., were agreed upon. A *chargé d'affaires,* Mr. William Miller, was duly accredited to the new republic.

About the same time the President of the United States accepted an invitation issued by the South American patriot, General Simon Bolivar, to send delegates to a Pan-American Congress, which should meet in the city of Panama in 1826, and consider the present status and the future welfare of the states that had revolted from Spain. There was so much difference, however, as to the advisability of the United States concerning itself with the affairs of the southern republics, and Congress discussed the question at such length, that when the American delegates finally reached Panama, the Congress had adjourned. Thus our republic lost a favorable opportunity of extending its influence over the countries of the South and of guiding their destinies. It would have been well for them if such influence could have been exerted.

The new republic was also recognized by Great Britain and the Netherlands; but Spain, though she was too weak to offer the resistance to the secession of Central America

which she had offered in the case of Mexico and some of the other colonies, joined the pope in refusing recognition.

Under as favorable auspices, therefore, as could be expected, Central America began its career as an independent nation. The first president, however, unfortunately was a man who, though patriotic and well-meaning, was without force, and like most well-meaning men, he contrived to do more harm than a man of less heart and more brains. Though it was certainly hard to steer a clear course between the two political parties, Arce contrived to offend both. It was, moreover, particularly difficult to conduct the government at Guatemala City, where the local government of the state also met, and where opportunities for conflict between the two were frequent. For instance, one is surprised to read that, in 1825, the local authorities refused to join in the celebration of the anniversary of the first meeting of the assembly, and the general congress decreed that the president must use force to compel such participation! The ill-feeling created by such unwise action may easily be imagined.

It has been explained that under the constitution the president had hardly any functions except as the mouth-piece and agent of the congress. His very weakness, however, often tempted him to assume powers and to perform unconstitutional acts; and, in the numerous civil and interstate wars that soon distracted the whole country, the necessity of leadership often made the president a military dictator like President Lincoln in our own Civil War. He often led the army of the republic in person, and determined questions of war and peace.

In October, 1826, President Arce issued a proclamation for convening an extraordinary congress, which was clearly an unconstitutional act, as this right was vested in the senate. Owing to this and other alleged arbitrary acts, Salvador broke out in open rebellion, and assembling an army invaded Guatemala. This army having been defeated and forced to retire, Arce invaded Salvador, and was in turn

repulsed. These counter invasions were followed by awkward complications, which ended in civil war.

It is impossible to follow here the ups and downs of this internecine strife, but we must mention the career of one man whom the troublous times brought to the front, and whose fame spread throughout Central America. This was General Morazan.

Morazan was one of the most eminent men that the country has produced. His father was a West Indian French Creole; but he himself was born in Honduras. Satisfied for a time with the position of secretary-general and senator of Honduras, he showed in early life such aptitude for military affairs, that he was soon engaged in the civil strife of the times. He was a man of winning manners, quick and impetuous disposition, but pursuing his ends with the greatest perseverance and tenacity. His sympathies were with the liberal party, and he proved himself a dangerous foe to the Serviles in Guatemala and to the federal government under their control.

In 1828 Morazan, at the head of a Honduran force, defeated the federal forces at Gualcho in the department of San Miguel, and thereby made himself a person to be reckoned with. Taking the side of the Salvadorans, he then expelled the federal troops from their country, and in October of the same year, entered San Salvador in triumph.

Guatemala being unwilling to make peace, Morazan, flushed with victory, marched into that state at the head of the liberal troops of Salvador and Honduras, and besieged the capital. Here he was repulsed, but he was well received by a revolutionary party in old Guatemala (Antigua). A little later another victory over the federal army placed the Serviles at his mercy.

The minister of the Netherlands now offered to negotiate a peace between the contending parties, so as to prevent them from cutting each other's throats. It seemed disgraceful to those looking on that the young republic, without adequate reasons, should plunge into a bloody civil war and

nullify all the good work accomplished. But the ambition of political parties made peace impossible and the war was renewed.

Morazan besieged Guatemala City and captured it without much resistance. He was now undisputed master of the republic. Quickly assuming all the powers of the federal state, he removed his opponents with much harshness. While establishing a military dictatorship, however, he determined that the appearance of representative government should be maintained. The federal congress was recalled and a new president, friendly to Morazan, was placed in office. The measures of this congress were of a severe character. It began a proscription of the defeated party just like the acts of attainder so familiar to us in the Wars of the Roses in English history. Arce and other prominent leaders were banished from the country. The church having sided with the Serviles, who professed great respect for its privileges, was treated with equal rigor. Morazan arrested the archbishop and the friars of all the orders, and shipped them off to Havana. The state assembly passed an act, approved by the federal congress, suppressing all the monasteries except those of the Bethlehemite friars, who were to remain as secular priests, and prohibiting all future vows and professions in the nunneries. All property of the suppressed monasteries was confiscated by the state. They were not reëstablished until a reaction came in 1839.

By the passage of these stringent measures, peace was restored to the distracted country, but so much bitterness had been engendered that both parties knew that it could not be enduring. It has been paradoxically affirmed of the French that they are never settled except when they are in the midst of a revolution. The same observation might be extended by a cynical looker-on to the Latin races of Spanish America.

Morazan, seeking the permanence of his rule, now offered himself for the presidency—a position to which he was duly elected. Certainly a strong hand at the helm was very necessary at this critical period. For there were many who

advocated the remodelling of the federal government, a most disquieting proposal; while Costa Rica, not liking the turn of affairs, actually passed an ordinance of secession, which was withdrawn only after much persuasion.

No country has ever thrown off autocratic rule without leaving in its midst a party longing for its restoration. Such a party is actuated either by regret at the loss of offices or by a not unnatural desire for the old established order, from which, whatever faults it may have, many conservative minds find it hard to break away.

Some of the self-styled aristocrats of Central America were really traitors in their hearts to the new republic and ardently desired the establishment of an aristocratic republic like Venice in the middle ages. When this was found to be impracticable, they turned to Ferdinand VII, who was making preparations for the restoration of his rule in America, and encouraged the formation of a Spanish party to aid that monarch.

When, however, news came in 1829 that in Cuba an expedition was preparing for the reconquest of Guatemala, the congress took active measures to resist the invasion. The ports were closed to the Spanish flag and to all the products of Spain and her colonies. The Spanish party, moreover, was confounded by an act, declaring that all property belonging to Spaniards resident in the republic should be sequestered until Spain acknowledged the independence of Central America.

In 1830 Morazan, having been elected president by popular vote, attempted to encourage education and to develop the industries of the country; but there was no opportunity as yet for the arts of peace to flourish. The Serviles plunged into another conflict with the federal government, as if nothing but revolution were to be the custom of the country.

Several small uprisings were quickly suppressed; but in 1832 Salvador seceded from the union under the plea that the constitution needed reforming. Nicaragua and Costa Rica expressed disapproval of this action and offered the

federal government their forces to reduce the state to obedience. When, however, Morazan crushed resistance in Salvador, and assumed charge of its government until the constitution should be restored, this latter action was regarded as illegal, and it displeased the other states so much that they seceded: Nicaragua in December, 1832, Guatemala in January, 1833, Salvador again in February, 1833, and Honduras and Costa Rica respectively in May and September, 1833. The confederacy was proving itself to be a rope of sand. It is true that later the states withdrew their opposition and again united themselves for awhile; but the slightest provocation was now sufficient to dissolve the bond, and there was no central authority to control the parts. In fact, there could be no remedy for general secession. When all seceded, it was simply a dissolution of the confederacy. Very different was the experience under President Jackson of South Carolina, which just at this period was threatening nullification and secession from the American union.

In 1834 Valle was chosen president, but as he died before he could take office, Morazan was elected to succeed himself. In the following year Salvador, through its legislature, ceded to the general government its capital, San Salvador, and some surrounding country, as a federal district. The seat of government was accordingly moved to this city, where it remained until the final dissolution in 1839. The removal gave satisfaction of a temporary nature.

## CHAPTER XV

### *THE RISE OF CARRERA*

THOUGH the years 1835 and 1836 were not marked by any hostile demonstration on the part of the Serviles, they were far from being inactive. They tried in every way to prejudice the lower classes against the party in power by appeals to class hatred and to superstition. Several events conspired to aid them in their efforts. The government, in a progressive spirit, had spent large sums in an endeavor to settle foreigners in the district of Vera Paz—a scheme that was defeated by the climate. In 1832 it had introduced into Central America the famous criminal code, prepared by Edward Livingston for Louisiana, but rejected by that State. The trial by jury, which was unpopular at its introduction into Louisiana, proved still more so in the republic, and was gradually abandoned. The church, moreover, was much displeased because marriage was made a civil contract. Finally, in 1837, an epidemic of cholera broke out. This dread disease, wherever it appeared, caused great havoc, and when the government tried to alleviate the suffering by sending out physicians and medicines to the poor, the Serviles among the clergy stirred up the lower classes by asserting that the water had been poisoned in order to kill the natives and make way for foreigners. This appeal to ignorance and superstition caused an insurrection among the Indians and half-breeds of Guatemala, the leader of which, Rafael Carrera, sprang into prominence and later became the military dictator of the country.

Stephens, the celebrated traveller, who visited Central America in 1839-40, had the good luck to encounter Carrera, and has given us an interesting description of the man. Carrera, he says, was a native of Guatemala, and of the humblest origin. His friends called him a mulatto, but Stephens preferred to call him an Indian, as he "considered that the better blood of the two." He was certainly of mixed blood, and doubtless a bastard. A drummer-boy in 1829, he gave up this occupation after the entrance of Morazan into Guatemala City, and became a pig-driver in a neighboring town. His influence with the Indians and the half-breeds seems to have been enormous. At the height of his power they called him *El Hijo de Dios* (the Son of God) and *Nuestro Señor* (our Lord). His temper was violent and subject to terrible outbursts. He was so ignorant that when he rose to power, he had to use a stamp to sign his name until he could learn to handle a pen. As a leader of men, however, he showed himself possessed of great natural ability.

When the Serviles and the priests began to stir up the people of the baser sort, especially the Indians, to revolt, by representing that religion was in danger and foreigners were to take the place of natives, there was intense excitement throughout Guatemala, and the church found a willing tool in Carrera, who doubtless believed all that he was told. Under him as a leader, the Indians adopted as a battle cry: *Viva la religion y muerte á los etrangeros.* Their first act was to murder the judges appointed under the Livingston code; but as they were proceeding to other unlawful acts, the government forces came upon them and put down the uprising with fire and sword. Unfortunately, however, some reckless soldier committed the last outrage upon Carrera's wife; whereupon the bandit chief swore he would never lay down his arms while one of Morazan's officers remained in the state. He was pursued, but he took refuge in the mountains, and with the assistance of the priests, he issued a proclamation against foreigners and the government for attempting to poison the Indians; demanding the destruction of all

foreigners except Spaniards, the abolition of the Livingston code, the recall of the friars, and the restoration of the privileges of the church. From this mountain retreat he and his band of reckless followers would descend and pillage the towns. By robbery and murder they terrorized the country until all travelling ceased.

An opportunity finally presented itself for Carrera to end this unlawful career and to become a political factor in Guatemala. The liberal party, then in control, quarrelled over the offices, and this division in its ranks proved fatal to its continuance in authority. The inhabitants of Antigua, taking advantage of the dissensions, demanded a general amnesty for all political offenders and redress of other grievances. These demands not being granted, they took up arms against the capital, and wishing to strengthen themselves, they called on Carrera for assistance. That outlaw chief joined them with a disorderly army of about ten thousand men, women, and children, and the combined forces marched to Guatemala City in February, 1838.

His allies of Antigua were now frightened at the temerity of their action, while the Guatemalans were filled with terror. All thoughts of resistance seem to have been banished. The dread of the outlaw's vengeance paralyzed the efforts of the assembly as well as of the federal troops, and all hastened to make submission, hoping thereby to lessen the rigors of the impending spoliation.

Then the vandals came crowding in—such a spectacle as the city had never before witnessed. The officers were robbers, murderers, and other desperate characters. The soldiers were ragged, uncouth barbarians with green bushes in their hats, armed with rusty old muskets, pistols, and fowling-pieces, or bearing long poles to which had been tied knives or machetes. Accompanying this undisciplined host were two or three thousand women, carrying sacks for the plunder that had been promised them. Most of the horde looked with greed and amazement upon the fine buildings of the city, the like of which they had never beheld. With

cries of *Viva la religion y muerte á los etrangeros,* they all swarmed into the plaza.

Carrera himself, his hat adorned with a green bush and with an old rag on which appeared images of the saints, rode at the head of his mob. When he found that there was no resistance, he was desirous of plundering the city, but he was persuaded to forbear on condition that his terms should be complied with. While negotiations were in progress, some of his followers rushed through the streets like demons, killing the vice-president of the republic, sacking the house of a deputy, and threatening worse crimes. The priests, running through the streets, crucifix in hand, did all they could to protect the terrified inhabitants; but Carrera alone could calm the passions of his wild following.

His demands were quickly granted. He was to receive eleven thousand dollars, ten thousand dollars for his troops and one thousand dollars for himself; one thousand muskets, and a commission as lieutenant-colonel. The money was collected among the citizens and paid over. To the new lieutenant-colonel and his ragged army it seemed an immense treasure. If he had asked for a million, he would probably have gotten it. It was with much greater reluctance that the authorities handed over to him the dangerous gift of a thousand muskets.

Seemingly satisfied with his spoils, Carrera led his army away to the town of Mita, which had been placed under his command. The capital breathed freely once more; but only for a brief season. Soon messages began to arrive from the chief of Mita that he had heard the people of the city spoke ill of him and that he intended to return with an army to punish them. Such messages threw the city into a panic; but no Carrera appeared, and finally he sent word that the city need have no fear of him for the present.

General Morazan, who had remained in San Salvador during these troubles, now marched to the capital with one thousand five hundred men; but as the rebellion was a state affair, he camped outside and waited to be asked to interfere.

Real Orden de 19 de Mayo de 1813. p.a q.e se
onga la libertad de la Ymprenta en Mex.co

He enterado à la Regenc.a del R.no de la
Carta reservada q.e dirige V.E. p.r el ministerio
de la guerra su fha 14 de Dbre ultimo, dando
parte del desorden ocurrido en esta Capital
con motivo de haverse reunido el Pueblo à nom-
brar electores p.a los empleos municipales de
cuia resulta, y conciderando los perjuiz.s q.e
podrian causar el abuso q.e se hacia de la liber-
tad de la Ymprenta; havia V.E. determi-
nado con acuerdo de la Audienc.a suspen-
der temporalm.te la libertad de impri-
mir como pral instrum.to (segun el con-
cepto de V.E.) de la fermentac.n sediciosa q.e
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elto prevenga à V.E. q.e alze la suspenc.n q.e ha
decretado de la ley de la libertad de la Ymp.ta
y q.e emplee toda su autoridad interezan-
do el zelo de la junta de censura y el de los
Jueces p.a q.e se corten los males q.e causa el abu-
so de una ley tan benefica y justa, p.r el medio
de la breve calificac.n de los impresos denuncia-
dos, y su recosim.to caso de q.e se estime... Ygual-

Royal decree of May 19, 1813, relating to the freedom of printing.
*From a facsimile in the Library of Congress, Washington.*

After some hesitation the assembly authorized him to act. Not wishing to prolong the civil strife, he concluded to send commissioners to Carrera's camp to persuade him and his robber band to lay down their arms, with a promise of fifteen dollars a head for those that did so.

Carrera received the commissioners at his camp on the top of a mountain, but no favorable terms could be obtained from him. He already felt himself to be a man of destiny—a view of his career which was fostered by a disreputable priest, who was always at his side with advice. He even impudently asserted that he had been offered by the government twenty dollars a head for every Indian that he poisoned, which, of course, was a falsehood.

No compromise being possible, Morazan marched forth to crush the rebels. This proved to be a very difficult task. If he gained a victory in one place, the insurrection broke out in another, and when they were hard pressed, the outlaws took to the mountains.

Finally, however, it was asserted that the rebellion had been crushed, and Morazan returned to San Salvador. A reward of one thousand five hundred dollars and a tract of land were offered to any person delivering up the criminal Rafael Carrera, dead or alive, unless the said Carrera should voluntarily surrender under the last pardon.

It soon became apparent, however, that the rebellion was not crushed as long as Carrera was abroad. As if aroused by the price placed upon his head, he soon began to show amazing energy. He defeated several bodies of federal troops, and having taken Antigua, he set out once more against Guatemala City. Before he could reach it, he was surprised and defeated by the federal forces under General Salazar.

Morazan now returned, and pursuing Carrera with wonderful pertinacity, cut off many of his men, scattered his forces, and surrounded him on top of a mountain, where he nearly starved to death. Finally the outlaw signed a treaty, in which he agreed to disband his followers and give

up all his muskets, conditions with which he complied only in part.

The years 1838 and 1839 witnessed the final dissolution of the confederation. It was practically authorized in 1838 by the federal congress, which passed an act permitting the various states "to act as they thought best."

It seems to have been expected that peace would now spread its benign influence over the distracted land, but no such happy consummation was to be realized. Nicaragua and Honduras, in retiring from the union, prepared the way for trouble by making a treaty of alliance in 1839, not only for the maintenance of their separate independence and sovereignty, but also for the defence of any other state against interference on the part of the federal government. The remaining states, in resuming their sovereignty, made similar agreements. They all expressed a wish for some kind of federal convention of the Central American States, but there must be no more confederation.

Morazan, however, whose term expired in 1839, did not lay down his office as he should have done; but, perhaps from patriotic motives, decided to use force to maintain the republic. This attitude on his part precipitated a conflict between Salvador, in which the federal capital was situated, and Nicaragua and Honduras. Political parties now divided on the question of secession. In 1839 the Salvadorans invaded Honduras, while Morazan marched on Guatemala City to crush at one blow the Serviles, who were his bitter enemies. This party, in desperate straits, had called to their aid the dreaded Carrera, who declared himself for the independent sovereignty of the states. The two chiefs met in a fierce and decisive battle, which lasted twenty-two hours. For the first time Morazan was defeated, most of his troops were cut to pieces by the superior forces of Carrera, and he himself escaped with difficulty to San Salvador.

The victory was celebrated by the slaughter of all fugitives and the instant death of the leading men among the liberals. Carrera stood in the plaza, and as his enemies were

brought before him, he pointed with his finger to this man and that, and as they were indicated they were taken aside and shot. The party that had formerly called in Morazan to defend the city against the bandit Carrera, now issued a proclamation: "Eternal glory to the invincible chief General Carrera, and the valiant troops under his command!"

Mr. Stephens visited Carrera before and after this battle. He describes him as about twenty-three years of age, quiet and polite in manner, but evidently capable, when aroused, of violent and fanatical actions. He was called *El rey de los Indios* (the King of the Indians), and over them he had perfect control. As he would not permit any white soldiers in his army, it was at one time feared that he intended to precipitate a war of castes.

As for Morazan, when he returned a defeated general to San Salvador, public opinion changed, and the people insulted him as he passed along the streets. Accepting his fate he determined to go into exile. Taking ship, he touched at the coast of Costa Rica, and then proceeded to South America, where he spent two years. In 1842 an opportunity was given him to return. Branlio Carrillo, exercising supreme power in Costa Rica, had issued a decree declaring himself president for life, with very little responsibility to the two councils that with the executive formed the government. The enemies of this one-man-rule promptly invited Morazan to come to their aid. He accepted, and with some five hundred men landed in Costa Rica, where he issued a manifesto of "order, union, and progress." The government troops, sent against him, fraternized with his little army, and he entered the capital, San José, in triumph. Carrillo left the state, and everything seemed to promise a prosperous rule for the liberal chief.

In a few months, however, a rebellion broke out, and Morazan's fortunes fell as quickly as they had risen. His government was overthrown. He himself, without trial, was condemned to death. He was shot on the 15th of September, 1842, the anniversary of the independence of

Central America. His violent end was celebrated by a high mass in Guatemala.

Historians have generally united in eulogizing the character of Morazan. He has been regarded as the martyr of union and liberal principles. One writer calls him "a noble patriot"; another, the "Washington of Central America".

## CHAPTER XVI

### *SEPARATE GOVERNMENTS—WALKER'S EXPEDITION*

After 1840 Carrera became virtually a dictator in Guatemala, and continued his rule until his death in 1865. His influence extended over a large part of Central America. His arrogance inclined him to throw off all restraints of the constitution. He even turned against his old allies, the aristocrats, alleging that they were unfriendly to the masses on whose shoulders he had risen to power. They tried to pacify him by the humblest submission and inveterate flattery. At times he would attempt to play the benevolent despot by planning for the improvement of the financial, agricultural, and industrial interests of the country, but he was very ignorant in such matters, and was far better fitted for guerrilla warfare. His enemies were numerous, but they could make no stand against him, and whenever he caught them, he had them promptly executed. The body of one of them he caused to be cut up and the parts exhibited at the gates of the city as a warning to traitors. The hostile faction called him an *antropofago* (man-eater), and when he learned the meaning of this strange word, he flew into a great rage. There was an assembly; but it was composed of priests and aristocrats, who were allowed no powers except to do his bidding. If he wanted money, he would occasionally wink at the pillaging of the city shops by his soldiers.

When he was first elected president of the republic of Guatemala, he refused it, preferring the untrammelled position of lieutenant-general of the army. But in 1844 he

accepted the presidency and began a tyrannical rule, under which all those that spoke against him were seized and thrown into dungeons or executed. The more enlightened citizens kept quiet, biding the change that time was sure to bring. One of them, in an address to the young men who despaired of the republic, ventured to say: "A savage government cannot be perpetual in the full light of the nineteenth century in free America. Light comes to us from the north and from the south, but the centre is in darkness, and this dark night cannot be eternal."

For awhile the government became weak from its own excesses, and Carrera retired from the executive chair to await a more favorable opportunity of punishing his enemies. But he was soon invited to return, and was made commander-in-chief of the army. In 1854, after a successful war against Salvador and Honduras, he was declared president for life, and the house of representatives practically conferred royal powers upon him by declaring that not he but his ministers should be held responsible for all acts of the government.

For eleven years, in spite of some revolts against his rule, he exercised unlimited power over Guatemala and great influence over the neighboring states. Like many an absolute monarch before him, he persuaded himself that he had been chosen by Providence to guide the destinies of his country. Though he was immoral and remorseless, he does seem to have been the man needed to bring order out of the chaos of the time. States generally get the governments they deserve. When he died in 1865, he was buried with the highest honors of church and state.

In the meantime the other states asserted their sovereignty by framing new constitutions suitable for the changed conditions and by declaring themselves free and independent republics. Some of them at first clung to the idea of forming a new union. It looked as if, though unable to live together, they could not live apart. In 1842 delegates from Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua met at Chinandega to

frame a new constitution, and passed an act creating a league to be called the Confederacion Centro Americana. But the aristocrats of Guatemala, jealous of any union for fear it would lessen their own importance and militate against their ambitious schemes, rejected the league for their state. Carrera would have none of it. Honduras, though its delegates had helped to form the league, soon fell away from it, while Salvador failed to respect its provisions. Before it had become wholly a dead letter, Honduras and Nicaragua were at war with each other for no particular reason except that a Honduran general had disobeyed the orders of his superior, and had attacked some Nicaraguan troops passing through his district. The smallest provocation was sufficient to bring on war. If a bishop quarrelled with the president and was banished, he would take refuge in a neighboring state, and send a small army to oust his enemy from the executive chair. The states were under military rulers, who, with small bands of soldiers, made war on one another like the barons of the Middle Ages, or who spent their time in repressing rebellions within their own states.

In 1849, not discouraged by the former failure, Honduras, Salvador, and Nicaragua once more attempted a confederation, and issued an invitation to Guatemala and Costa Rica to join it; but when the constitution was framed, Salvador and Nicaragua both refused to abide by it on the ground that it created a dictatorship.

Later we shall find that other attempts were made to realize this dream of unity, which is said to be entertained by the majority of the people of Central America, but which has failed of realization on account of the jealousy of rulers and states. In criticising the conduct of these rival states, however, we should remember that our own constitution "was extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people"; that only the habits of self-government to which our people had long been inured kept it in force during the first seventy years of its existence, and that then the union was preserved only by a devastating civil war.

One of the most striking results of the internal confusion and bitter partisan warfare of this period was the expedition to Nicaragua, in 1855, by William Walker, a restless adventurer from the United States.

The father of this singular man was a Scotch banker, who emigrated to this country in 1820. His son William was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1824. His education was received partly in his native town and partly in the various cities to which his roving habits carried him. For a while he studied law; but growing weary of that profession he tried medicine, and is said to have been a practising physician in Philadelphia for a time. Then he travelled in Europe for a year, and on his return to this country he took up journalism, and in 1850 was connected with the *Crescent* newspaper in New Orleans. The gold fever, however, had already caught him, and we are not surprised to find him setting out for California. Instead of seeking gold there, he made some reputation for himself as a trenchant writer on the San Francisco *Herald,* which he soon deserted to take up the practice of law in Marysville. But this was no more permanent than his previous occupations, for in 1852 we find him travelling through the district of Sonora in Mexico.

Here he formed the ambitious plan of invading and colonizing some of the less thickly settled portions of Spanish America. Just previous to this time the Lopez revolution in Cuba had aroused much interest in the United States, and though it had ended disastrously, Walker seems to have been encouraged to believe that a similar enterprise would receive the support of many adventurous persons in this country. Accordingly, in 1853, we find him once more in San Francisco, organizing an expedition for the invasion of the district of Sonora. Though this was promptly stopped by the United States government, he managed in October of the same year to gather a small force of forty-five men—restless adventurers like himself—with whom he sailed to the town of La Paz in Lower California.

On landing here he issued a proclamation, declaring Lower California a republic, independent of Mexico, and signing himself president. The inhabitants of the town made a sharp resistance to this invasion, but Walker's small force won a decisive victory. Then issuing another proclamation, adding Sonora to his republic, he marched to the conquest of that district. Though he had now received some reinforcements from California, he was soon in desperate straits for provisions and military supplies, and his men began to desert. He himself is described as having only one boot and a piece of another.

After making some demonstrations against the Mexican forces sent to check his progress, Walker concluded that it was wise to retire to San Diego, California, where he surrendered to the authorities of the United States. He was promptly tried for violation of the neutrality laws; but for some reason was acquitted. Until something more interesting should turn up, Walker resumed the editorship of a newspaper. His opportunity was not long in coming.

In 1854 a company was organized in California to promote commercial intercourse between the United States and Honduras and to develop the gold placers of the latter state. The enemies of the company declared that the main object was to upset the government of Honduras and to extend the institution of slavery. The agents of this company visited Central America and finally reached the city of Leon in Nicaragua. Here Castellon, the provisional chief of the state, had his headquarters. To him the agents presented letters of introduction, and as Castellon was at the head of the Liberals or Democrats, the Americans were hospitably received. Finding that the Liberals were engaged in the usual civil war with the Serviles or Legitimists, one of the agents suggested to Castellon that he should send for "the renowned Walker" to bring an American force to his aid. Castellon, having just failed to capture the important city of Granada, listened favorably to this proposal, and promised that a grant of fifty-two thousand acres of unoccupied

land should be given to Walker if he brought a band of colonists to aid the Liberals in the siege of Granada. Thus the dissensions of the political parties were to introduce a dangerous foreign element into the country.

When Walker was informed of this offer, he accepted it, and, in May, 1855, set sail for Central America. He was in his prime, being about thirty. His appearance did not give promise of greatness. His face, especially the chin, if we may judge by his portrait, showed indecision rather than the determination that marks the born leader of men. His face, says one who knew him, was rather dull; his lips were full and almost coarse. His height was only five feet four inches. He never laughed, but in conversation listened attentively, with a serious, thoughtful expression. His most striking feature was "an intensely brilliant blue-gray eye," which seemed to penetrate the innermost thoughts of his interlocutor. He was capable of great sacrifices for his friends. He seemed to care little for either luxury or riches. His ambition was fired by the belief that destiny had marked him out for great deeds; but he lacked the genius that characterized those usurpers of the past whom he aspired to imitate. In his later career he committed acts of recklessness that alienated all but his closest friends.

In June, 1855, Walker, with a small force, reached Realejo in Nicaragua, and announced to Castellon's government at Leon that he was ready for service. The ministry, however, which had opposed the coming of the Americans as a dangerous intervention, received him so coldly that he made preparations to march into Honduras and take part in the contentions of that state. At the last moment a courier overtook him, and he was invited to enlist in the Nicaraguan army, with the rank of colonel. His first orders were to attack the town of Rivas, lying to the west of Lake Nicaragua. His force consisted of only fifty-eight Americans and one hundred natives.

At Rivas he met a body of five hundred Spaniards, before whom he was obliged to retreat, though the enemy lost one

hundred and eighty killed and wounded. His Americans fought with desperate bravery; but his native allies deserted him. Finding the odds so great, Walker took ship with his small company and sailed back to Realejo. Here he reported his lack of success to Castellon, and there was much discussion as to the next move.

Finally in August, Walker, with a force of one hundred and seventy men, returned to the scene of his former operations. He landed at San Juan del Sur, whence he marched to La Vírgen on the Lake. Here the Serviles attacked him by night, but though their numbers were greater, they suffered a decisive defeat. Elated by this success and supported by the Liberals of the surrounding country, Walker decided to make a bold stroke; he would make a sudden descent on Granada and capture that important city. In this he was eminently successful. The city was surprised, and before the defenders realized what had happened, Walker was in possession. His treatment of the inhabitants must have been a pleasing contrast to what they were accustomed to. He released all political prisoners, and promised life, liberty, and property in full possession to all legitimists who remained peaceable.

After this victory Walker was no longer regarded as a mere adventurer; he was powerful enough to dictate terms to his opponents. On the Sunday after the capture of the city, a great meeting of the citizens was held and the formal offer of the presidency was made to him. Being not yet ready for this honor, Walker declined it in favor of General Corral (a mulatto), the leader of the Legitimists, whom he wished to conciliate by the presidency, while he himself remained commander of the forces.

Corral at first declined to be a party to this arrangement, but when he learned that four hundred riflemen had arrived from California, and that Walker had shot one of his prisoners and placed others in close confinement, his party compelled him to negotiate for peace. Accordingly a treaty was signed between him and Walker—now made a general—

providing for a suspension of hostilities and the appointment of Patricio Rivas as provisional president of the republic, Corral as minister of war, and Walker as commander-in-chief of the armies. There was to be a general oblivion of all past political offences.

Thus peace, though on a very precarious basis, was restored to Nicaragua. Solemn services were held in the church, during which Padre Vijil delivered an address eulogistic of Walker's services. "Look at that man," he cried, "sent by Providence to bring peace, prosperity, and happiness to this blood-stained, unhappy country. We all owe him and his brave men many thanks."

The first trouble came from Corral. Dissatisfied with his small influence in the state, he declared that the agreement had been forced upon him and was null and void. Letters from him to General Guardiola, leader of the Legitimists in Honduras were intercepted, declaring that Nicaragua and the rest of Central America were lost unless Nicaragua were invaded and the usurper (Walker) put down. On the strength of these letters Corral was arrested, and in spite of the constitution, which required the previous impeachment of an officer of the government, he was tried by court-martial, condemned, and executed. Walker had now adopted the judicial procedure of the country; but Corral was popular, and his death antagonized his party.

The provisional president, at Walker's request, sent Parker H. French to Washington to negotiate a treaty with the United States; but he was not received, and President Pierce issued a proclamation against filibustering expeditions criminally directed against states with which the United States were at peace.

Walker soon found himself in a dangerous position. Not only were Legitimists alienated by the death of Corral, but the general himself made the fatal mistake of quarrelling with the Transit Company, an American Corporation, which brought him supplies and recruits. Finding that they had not discharged their obligations to his government, he

revoked their charter and gave it to one of his friends. The company, which was powerful, was now bent on his destruction.

War soon began to hover on the horizon. Costa Rica having refused to recognize the new order of things in Nicaragua, Walker decided to force recognition by a threat of war. Costa Rica promptly accepted the challenge, and sent a force of three thousand men under General Mora to invade Nicaragua and "to drive the foreign invaders from the soil."

Walker, not appreciating the strength of Mora's army, sent only five hundred men to meet him: one company from New Orleans, one from New York, one composed of Frenchmen, and one composed of Germans. The commander was Colonel Schlessinger, a German Jew, who turned out to be a contemptible coward. At Santa Rosa he was defeated by Mora, who then marched to Rivas. Here he was met by Walker with an inadequate force, and a fierce battle ensued. Walker's friends claimed a victory for him, but in reality he was forced to retire with a loss of sixty men. The Costa Ricans, who had lost more heavily, did not follow up their victory. The cholera having broken out in the army and news arriving that there was a revolt at home, Mora retired and his army followed. Just at this time, Father Vijil, the liberal priest, was recognized at Washington as minister plenipotentiary from Nicaragua, an event which aided Walker greatly.

Soon after, however, there was a serious quarrel between Rivas and Walker over the disposition of the troops. Whereupon Walker, by military force, caused himself to be elected president. When the question was submitted to a *plébiscite,* he claimed to have received a vote of fifteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-five. Rivas entered a protest. One of the new president's first decrees was to repeal the federal law abolishing slavery. This was done to engage the sympathy and support of the Southern planters of the United States, but it injured the reputation of Walker. His

next act was to confiscate the estates of all Nicaraguans taking arms against him.

Rivas now called on the other states to drive out the interloper. Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, and Costa Rica, ever ready for a war with one another, or against a common enemy, cheerfully responded to the call. The allies invaded Nicaragua with a large army, took possession of Leon, and forced Walker back upon Granada. His available force was now reduced to one thousand two hundred, most of whom were Americans, and the rest English, French, and Germans. These were soon decimated by sickness and desertion.

Several engagements now took place, but the superior numbers of the allies proved too much for Walker. He lost Granada and was besieged in the town of Rivas. Finally his forces being reduced to four hundred, he signed a treaty of capitulation, not to General Mora, but to Commander Charles H. Davis of the United States corvette, *Saint Mary's,* which was lying off the coast. Mora, glad to get rid of the dangerous foreigners as quickly as possible, approved of this arrangement. On the 1st of May, 1857, Walker and a number of his officers were taken on board the corvette, and his men were transported to the United States.

On his return to the United States Walker showed himself as eager as ever to gain control over affairs in Central America. He sailed with another expedition for Greytown, but an American squadron stopped him on the way. In 1860 he fitted out yet another expedition, with which he landed in Honduras.

Here he seized the custom house, in which were funds pledged to the British government for the payment of the debts of Honduras. Unfortunately for him there was an English war vessel in the neighborhood, the captain of which ordered him to depart. Forced to obey, he took refuge with a small body of followers on the coast, where he was attacked by some Honduran troops and wounded. A little later he

fell into the hands of his enemies, who promptly tried him by court-martial and put him to death.

Historians differ as to his character and conduct. Those friendly to him declare that if he had not been driven out by the neighboring states, he would have been a great benefactor to Central America. Overlooking his faults, they assert that he brought order out of the confusion in Nicaragua, and they compare him to Lafayette and Steuben, who proffered their services in the American Revolution. Others say he was a pirate, filibuster, and a spreader of slavery.

A proper judgment depends somewhat upon the point of view. It may be admitted that in his later career he seems to have lost sight of the welfare of the country he came to assist and to have followed the dictates of a lower ambition. This much, however, may be said for him. He went to Central America at the invitation of the Liberals, with whom there was great sympathy in the United States, and the anarchic state of affairs in Nicaragua would seem to have justified the intervention of any person or persons that cared for law and order. His ambition grew by what it fed upon. His later aim, he declared to a friend, was to found an empire which should include both Central America and Mexico. For such a great task neither his ability nor his resources were adequate.

The palace of Chapultepec. The earlier parts of the building were erected by the Viceroy Galvez on the site of Montezuma's pleasure garden.

## CHAPTER XVII

### *THE REPUBLICS IN RECENT TIMES*

After the expulsion of Walker the republics seemed as far as ever from being able to settle down to peace and to the development of their natural resources. Internal or interstate commotion was still the rule rather than the exception.

In Costa Rica, for example, General Mora, who had been hailed as a noble patriot and the deliverer of the country from the yoke of the hated foreigners, was elected president in 1859, but in the same year a successful revolution of the richer classes drove him into exile. When he returned with an army to regain his office by force, he was captured, tried by drum court-martial, and executed. This event was very properly deplored throughout Central America; but no one was punished for it. Custom had sanctioned such strange reverses of fortune.

The death of Mora was followed by a bewildering series of revolts against the constituted authorities down to the year 1885. Success alternated between the political factions, and constitutions followed in rapid succession. Once, in 1870, the government seems to have been upset by the unaided efforts of sixteen men. Generally the powers of the president were those of a military dictator, who could suspend the constitution, restore it, or have a new one framed, just as he might think expedient. In fact, these dictatorships, growing naturally out of the perpetual civil conflicts,

are the characteristic of nearly all the Latin republics. Moreover, when the political parties wearied of their own dissensions, variety could generally be found in fierce disputes between the church and the state.

In Salvador much the same story is repeated. In 1871 an excellent constitution was adopted, and there seemed to be a favorable opportunity for peace and repose; but in the following year the state went to war with Honduras for no particular reason: relations had become "strained." In 1875-6 it was engaged in a sanguinary war with Guatemala, in which it suffered serious discomfiture. A prolific source of trouble was the custom of one state's giving asylum to the political refugees from another.

In Honduras (1865-1885) there was a whirlwind of revolutions, from which the state emerged almost ruined. During the same period Nicaragua, it has been said, "was either on the eve of a revolution or in the throes of one, or at least talking of one."

Guatemala, during this period, was the scene of most significant events, which possess a far greater interest than the petty quarrels of the neighboring states. While apparently a republic, it was really a dictatorship from 1840 to 1870. On his death in 1865 Carrera had appointed his successor, but in 1871 the Liberals, weary of the arbitrary rule of the Serviles, rose in revolt and won a brilliant victory over the party so long in power. They immediately decided to reorganize the government on a real democratic basis.

This was not an easy task; there was no congress, no money in the treasury, and the officials of the state could not be found. The victors, however, went diligently to work to restore order and to establish their reforms.

When the church, clinging to the old aristocratic party, refused to acknowledge the new government, and promoted an insurrection among the Indians, the government took drastic measures to assert its authority. It banished the Jesuits and the archbishop, Piñol, from the republic. This action was followed by the abolition of ecclesiastical taxes,

and of the special jurisdiction of the church over civil and criminal cases, and by the suppression of all communities of men. A little later nearly all the nunneries were closed, and freedom of worship was accorded to all sects. Of special significance, also, was the breaking down of the Chinese wall between the upper and lower classes. This caste system had separated by a strong barrier the working classes from the governing class, made up wholly of consumers.

In 1873 Justo Rufino Barrios was installed as president. He had been a successful general in the late civil war. He was neither polished in manner nor trained in statesmanship, but what was most important at this epoch, he knew how to make the church and the aristocratic party feel his iron hand whenever they rose in revolt. Many arbitrary acts are attributed to him; but the republic is grateful to him for many wise reforms. Under his rule old special privileges were swept away, and Guatemala took its place among the enlightened modern states.

He encouraged the education of the masses, which had been distinctly discouraged by the ruling classes; he introduced the railroad and the telegraph, and he was the constant advocate of all liberal institutions. It has been said that he held the sword constantly over the heads of his opponents, but doubtless the new *régime* could not have been inaugurated otherwise.

In 1879 the liberal doctrines were incorporated in a new constitution, and in 1880 Barrios was reëlected president for six years. The government was firmly enough established for him to ask a leave of absence, during which he visited the United States and Europe. On his return in 1882 he urged that he should be allowed to resign, pleading the state of his health; but the assembly refused to accept his resignation.

While in the United States Barrios had urged the government of that country to aid in the settlement of the many boundary disputes and especially to mediate for the union of the five states of Central America into a single

republic. The former question was promptly taken up by the American government, but in the latter it refused to interfere.

Barrios now decided to undertake himself this oft-tried experiment. He received promises of aid from Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador; but Nicaragua and Costa Rica at first held aloof. Costa Rica finally made a conditional promise to send delegates to a general congress; but subsequently its legislature failed to ratify the plan.

Barrios, bitterly disappointed at his ill success, declared the plan of union was a lofty idea which no one dared to declare himself against, and that in order to overcome the pernicious localism and personal ambition, he should have to resort to force.

Accordingly in 1885 he issued a proclamation in which, while explaining the advantages of union and disclaiming any personal desire for extended rule, he announced the consolidation of the five states into one republic. This, of course, was the equivalent of a declaration of war upon the recalcitrant states.

Guatemala and Honduras stood by the president, but the other states believed they saw in this coercion a desire on the part of Barrios to make himself dictator of all Central America, and they prepared for resistance. First, however, they appealed to Mexico and the United States to intervene and check the plans of the president. Mexico sent a protest, and the United States, disapproving of forcing the states into a union, sent warships to protect American interests.

Nothing could change Barrios's plans, and when Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Salvador formed an offensive and defensive alliance, he led an army into Salvador in March, 1885. At first he drove the Salvadoran troops before him, but in an attack on the fortifications of Chalchuapa, his army was defeated and he himself was killed.

At his death the plan of coercing the states into union collapsed. In more recent years efforts have been made to bring about an amicable association of the states. In 1895

Nicaragua, Salvador, and Honduras joined to form the greater "Republic of Central America," but this loose union lasted only a few years. Again, on the 20th of January, 1902, commissioners from Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Salvador, and Guatemala met at the port of Corinto in Nicaragua, and signed "a convention of peace and obligatory arbitration," a happy augury for the future.

To return to the recent history of Guatemala: Barrios was followed by General Barillas in 1886, and he by José M. R. Barrios in 1892. Five years later, in violation of the constitution, Barrios's term as president was extended by the assembly until March, 1902; but in the following year he was assassinated by a British subject. The acting president, Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera, had to put down two insurrections against his authority. He has, however, proved himself an excellent executive.

In 1890-1 there were serious epidemics of small-pox and cholera. In 1902 severe earthquakes occurred in many districts and a fearful eruption of the volcano Santa Maria. To the loss of several thousand lives from these disasters must be added the injury to property, which has been estimated at more than five million dollars.

In Costa Rica, since the adoption of the present constitution in 1870, there have been no events of any great importance except the settlement of the boundary disputes with Nicaragua on the one side and with Colombia (Panama) on the other. In the last years of the nineteenth century Costa Rica and Nicaragua appointed a board of engineers to fix the boundary line between the two countries, and asked the President of the United States to select an arbitrator. President Cleveland's choice for this position fell upon General E. P. Alexander, of South Carolina, an eminent engineer, who resided for three years in Greytown, and successfully arbitrated all questions upon which the board could not agree. As a result a boundary was agreed upon and marked with stone pillars. In 1900 the vexed question of the southern boundary was settled by the President of the

French Republic. President Loubet's award by fixing the lower limit of Costa Rica at Punta Carreta deprived that state of a large piece of territory which it had persistently claimed. It marks an auspicious epoch in their history that these states refused to appeal to arms and accepted gracefully the decision of disinterested third parties.

Of late years the history of the Isthmus of Panama has been of a more stirring character even than that of Central America proper. Its early history has been traced, and we saw that on declaring its independence of Spain in 1821, it joined its fortunes with those of Colombia, while the rest of the states were discussing union with Mexico or among themselves. In 1831, however, the government of Colombia, which was highly centralized and which was held together chiefly by the influence of General Bolivar, went to pieces, and there emerged from the wreck the three republics of Ecuador, Venezuela, and New Granada.

New Granada, which in 1861 became the United States of Colombia, embraced from the first, within its jurisdiction, the Isthmus. Its new constitution, however, provided for the same kind of centralized government that had existed before, and it might have been predicted that the lack of easy communication between the state and its provinces and the opportunity thus presented for misunderstandings, would result in the secession of Panama from New Granada just as the latter had seceded from Colombia.

The first revolt of the Isthmus against New Granada occurred in 1831, and it was crushed only to rise up in a more serious form in 1840. This time it was successful. The independent state of the Isthmus, including Panama and Veragua, was established by the leading men and it maintained its existence for two years. Its weakness, however, may be understood from the fact, that when in 1842, the government of New Granada threatened coercion, the new state became submissive and was at once united to that republic. This status continued until 1855, when the brooding discontent became aggressive, and New Granada, for its

own purposes, gave its consent to the establishment of the autonomous State of Panama. This seems to have been a political move, intended to discredit the federalist party, but in Panama it was received with great rejoicing and New Granada found it unwise to withdraw it. Under this arrangement the state obtained an independent local government and became a member of the confederation.

The constitution adopted being of a most liberal character, everything promised well; but the new state soon plunged into a series of insurrections and revolutions, more numerous and more causeless than those of the Central American States. For instance, the presidential election of 1856 produced such an uproar that many of the white citizens sought an asylum on a United States man-of-war. The negroes claimed that a white man had been elected; the whites claimed that a negro had been elected. The negro finally got the place and proved himself an excellent official.

The negroes, however, being four or five times as numerous as the whites and disliking them because they were conservatives, continued to give a great deal of trouble. There seems to have been a revolution, on an average, every two years. It would be useless to attempt to give the details of these chronic outbreaks. As time went on political squabbles became worse rather than better. Perhaps, never in the world was there a more disgraceful state of affairs than could be witnessed in Panama in the year 1885. Ambitious leaders kept the state in a turmoil. There was naught but anarchy and bloodshed. The United States sent warships to protect American interests and to guard the transit of the Isthmus; but did not interfere in the civil strife. Finally the confusion became intolerable; Panama was looked upon as a public nuisance; and the republic of Colombia (formerly the United States of Colombia) decided to interfere. The State of Panama was promptly reduced to a dependency or department, which was ruled from Bogotá.

Eighteen years later (1903) Panama threw off all allegiance and became a sovereign state. The events that led

to this important change of status are so recent that, to be recalled, they need only to be mentioned. The resubjection of Panama to Colombia did not put a stop to the revolts of the unhappy Isthmus against the parent state. When, therefore, in 1903 an opportunity for asserting independence presented itself, it was eagerly seized. The peculiar circumstances of the time made the occasion propitious. The vital questions in Panama and Central America for many years have been whether an interoceanic canal would be constructed by some foreign power, and if so, where? In fact, these questions may be said to have agitated the world at irregular intervals from the time of the discovery of America down to the present time. Columbus, as we have seen, sought a natural passage through the Isthmus; Spain was constantly planning to make one. After the independence of Central America was achieved, Holland and later the United States negotiated with the new republic to obtain the privilege of digging a canal.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 between the United States and Great Britain, though its chief provisions were intended to prevent the latter country from asserting its alleged protectorate over the Mosquito coast, also provided that the two powers should mutually guard the safety and neutrality of the canal, and invite all other nations to do the same. Every one at this period seems to have expected that the Nicaraguan route would be chosen; but in 1855 a railway, forty-seven miles long, was completed across the Isthmus from Colon to the city of Panama; and in 1878 when the government of Colombia granted to the Civil International Interoceanic Association of Paris the exclusive privilege for ninety-nine years of digging a canal between the two oceans, the proposed route was from the Bay of Limon to the Gulf of Panama.

This was to be a sea-level canal, fifty-four miles long, and was to cost one hundred and twenty million dollars. It was begun in 1881 under the direction of the famous Count de Lesseps, who promised that it should be completed in eight

years. At first the stock was eagerly bought; but in 1889 the company went into the hands of a receiver, and a French commission reported that to complete the canal would require one hundred and eighty million dollars. An investigation of the affairs of the company showed so much peculation that De Lesseps and his son were sentenced to fine and imprisonment for bribery and fraud. Though the sympathy of the French nation prevented the sentence from being carried out, De Lesseps, already aged, was crushed by the blow and died the following year.

This failure discouraged the United States as to the Panama route and inclined it to the Nicaraguan. Moreover, the French company at first refused to sell out its rights at a reasonable price, consenting only after long negotiation to accept forty million dollars. Finally, in 1903, Congress passed the Spooner bill, by which President Roosevelt was authorized to carry on such negotiations with Colombia as would lead to the construction of the Panama Canal, and if these negotiations failed, steps should be taken to construct the Nicaraguan route.

In the meantime the United States had acquired from Great Britain through the Hay-Pauncefote treaty (1901), replacing the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the right to construct a canal and police it alone.

In 1903 a treaty was signed by Secretary Hay and the Colombian *chargé d'affaires,* providing for a lease of the canal to the United States for one hundred years, including the privilege of renewal; with the payment by the United States of ten million dollars for the concession and two hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year, beginning with the tenth year after the ratification of the treaty.

This treaty Colombia refused to ratify. The reasons for this action are not very clear. Either the assembly of that country began to fear serious encroachments on the part of the United States or it hoped to obtain more money.

It looked now as if the Nicaraguan route might after all be chosen; but Panama cut the Gordian knot. Always ready

for separation from Colombia, against which it had many grievances, it seized the favorable opportunity to accomplish a three-fold object: to prevent the canal from being built in Nicaragua, to appropriate the money offered by the United States, and, last but not least, to obtain independence. Feeling sure of the moral support of the American government, it declared its independence three days after the adjournment of the Colombian Congress, proclaiming itself a sovereign republic November 3, 1903.

Three days later the new republic was recognized by the United States, an action which, on account of its hastiness, caused no little criticism of our government. Some critics went so far as to say that the administration had encouraged the revolutionary movement in order to further the canal schemes—a statement which was promptly denied by the chief executive. In any case recognition by the principal European powers quickly followed, and Colombia itself made only a slight show of opposition. That state, in failing to ratify the treaty, had lost a splendid opportunity, which could never be regained. It seems to have been blind to the natural results of its action, and, especially, as affecting Panama.

The United States government not only landed troops to protect the railroad, but also accredited a minister, Mr. Buchanan, to the new state, which, in its turn, made larger concessions of territory and of jurisdiction than were contained in the Colombian treaty. Satisfactory terms having been agreed upon, President Roosevelt appointed a commission of engineers to undertake the work of constructing the canal. It has been decided to reject the sea-level plan and to build a lock canal. With the expense already incurred for the purchase of foreign rights, the cost of the work will be about one hundred and eighty-four million dollars. The Nicaraguan canal, it is estimated, would have cost one hundred and eighty-nine million dollars. The Panama route, therefore, is not only a little cheaper, but it is held that the expense of maintenance will be less by one million three hundred thousand dollars per annum.

The actual construction of the canal was begun in 1906. In the same year President Roosevelt, who has always taken a deep interest in the undertaking, visited the Isthmus and inspected the work. When it is completed, it will be one of the most extraordinary feats of scientific engineering the world has witnessed. The separation of the northern and the southern continents, which nature almost accomplished, will be at last completed by the skill of man.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### *ANTIQUITIES, PRODUCTS, POPULATION*

PROFOUND interest has been excited by the accounts given by travellers at various times of the remarkable remains of ancient buildings, carved idols, and hieroglyphics, discovered in the more northern portions of Central America. The most interesting of these were visited in 1839-40 by the travellers, John L. Stephens and F. Catherwood, who have left us accurate drawings of both idols and buildings. Many of the relics have been carried off to museums in various parts of the world, but some still remain at Palenque in Chiapas, at Uxmal and Chichen-Itza in Yucatan, and at Copan in Honduras. These towns belong to the districts in which the Maya stock of languages was spoken. In Costa Rica, also, thousands of small gold images have been taken from mounds, which are thought to have been fashioned by tribes of comparatively highly civilized Indians.

At Copan Stephens found a temple six hundred and twenty-four feet long and sixty feet in height, made of cut stones three to six feet in length and one and a half feet in breadth. There were also idols and altars carved so beautifully, that the traveller declared that they equalled the remains of the best Egyptian art. Scholars have been much exercised over the hieroglyphic writing found upon these relics, but as yet it has not been deciphered. The stone used by these old artists was a soft grit stone, which they successfully carved with chisels of flint. Many of the buildings were used for religious ceremonies; others were communal dwellings.

The natives knew nothing of the origin of these ruins, when Mr. Stephens visited them, and some scholars once believed that they belonged to a prehistoric age. But an old document recently found declares that Chichen-Itza was an inhabited town at the time of the Conquest. It is now held that Copan and Palenque are two or three centuries older, the former being perhaps the oldest city in America. Colossal mahogany trees growing in the ruins of Palenque were thought to be two thousand years old; but later it was discovered that in Central America such trees may get a new ring every month instead of once a year. Hence the trees of Palenque may be only two hundred years old.

Mr. Andrew Lang, after seeing pictures of the ruins of Central America, said that "they throw Mycenæ in the shade and rival the remains of Cambodia," in Indo-China; but Mr. John Fiske thinks this to be an exaggerated view of their value. They represent the work of the ancestors of the tribes who were conquered by the Spaniards. These tribes had not advanced beyond "the middle status of barbarism."

During the early years of the twentieth century, with the exception of the bloodless revolt of Panama, in 1903, the Central American republics have enjoyed peaceful relations with one another and with the rest of the world. Opportunities have thus been gained for the development of the industries of these countries, so long racked by internal commotion. The natural products, accordingly, have shown a great increase, and an era of general prosperity seems to have opened.

From the damp, insalubrious lowlands of the east coast to the cool, healthful highlands of the west coast, there is a wide range of climate and a corresponding diversity of products.

Guatemala, in its uplands, ranging from one thousand to six thousand feet, produces coffee and has exported in one

year more than eighty-five million pounds. Most important, also, are the annual exports of sugar, cacao, tobacco, and bananas. In order to encourage the production of rubber the government, a few years ago, offered a premium of over a hundred acres of public land for every twenty thousand rubber plants, four years old, planted after 1899. Such precious metals as gold and silver are, also, found in the republic.

Honduras is the richest of all the republics in minerals. While only a small proportion of the valuable mines are now worked, the yield of gold and silver is considerable. The forests are rich in mahogany, ebony, and dyewoods. The chief cereal is the native maize, but wheat and rice are also raised. Among fruits, lemons, oranges, and cocoanuts are exported in important quantities; and there is a considerable production of tobacco and coffee.

Salvador is a small, but extremely fertile state. Its chief occupation is agriculture. The staple products are tobacco, indigo, rubber, cacao, tobacco, and coffee. In one year the country has exported more than fifty million pounds of coffee.

Nicaragua is next to Honduras in the value of its mineral deposits, but, in 1903, only the gold mines were worked. In the forests are found rubber, mahogany, balsam, cedar, rosewood, and many other valuable trees. The soil is so well fitted for agriculture that on some lands two crops of sugar cane, and on others four crops of maize can be grown in one year. Cotton, indigo, coffee, tobacco, and bananas are largely exported.

Costa Rica has drawn its principal wealth from the cultivation of tobacco, though of late years the growing of bananas has been undertaken on a very large scale. Such cereals as rice and Indian corn are well adapted to the soil.

In Panama agriculture has not prospered. The climate is hot, damp, and unhealthy. On account of the great mortality during the French attempts to build a canal, there has arisen a mistaken notion that the turning up of the soil brings on sickness, "the creeping Johnny." The recent

experiments of the American government there seem to prove that proper sanitary precautions will largely prevent the occurrence of the diseases that once prevailed.

The total population of Central America, excluding Panama, is (1906) about four millions, distributed as follows:

Guatemala has one million seven hundred thousand. Of these, the full-blood Indians, more numerous here than elsewhere in Central America, number more than seven hundred and fifty thousand, and, with the ladinos and mestizos or mixed breeds, form the great majority of the population.

Honduras, exclusive of the uncounted forest tribes, has only five hundred and forty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty-one. Very few, if any, are of pure Spanish descent, the population being composed of Indians, mestizos, and some foreigners.

Salvador, the most densely populated of all the republics, had (1901) one million six thousand eight hundred and forty-eight. The pure-blood Indians number two hundred and thirty-four thousand six hundred and forty, the rest being mestizos, ladinos, and whites.

Nicaragua's population is estimated at five hundred thousand, which includes the Indians of Mosquitia and the uncivilized natives of the interior. In the east there is a proportion of African blood, but the majority of the population are descended directly or indirectly from the Indians.

Costa Rica (1903) had three hundred and ten thousand. There are a few thousand Indians and, near the coast, some negroes; but the great majority of the people are whites.

Panama, not included in the above census, has about three hundred thousand inhabitants, in which there is an inextricable mixture of different race elements.

In Central America the most numerous class of the population, next to the pure-blood Indians, are the ladinos, who are properly the descendants of Indian and Spanish parentage. The term mestizo (literally, person of mixed blood, not defined) seems to be used as the equivalent of ladino (Latinus), though it might include the numerous mulattoes

Augustin de Yturbide (known as Iturbide), crowned as Augustin I.,
Emperor of Mexico, July 21, 1822.

(white and black), the octoroons, and the Sambos (Indian and negro). The admixture of races, especially in Panama and Spanish Honduras, has been carried so far that the line of demarcation is almost lost.

The mestizos are of a light yellow complexion, some nearly white, and resemble in feature the Creoles or pure whites. They are described as "too often treacherous, sensual, and lazy." They have inherited the worst qualities of both races. While intellectually superior to the Indian they are less trustworthy.

From the ladino class come the domestic servants, the small farmers, the herdsmen, and many beggars and robbers. A considerable number, however, of exceptional ability, have risen to high position in church and state. In Guatemala not a few mestizos and pure-blood Indians have adopted the learned professions and are regarded as members of the gentry class.

The Creoles or pure whites, descendants of the Spaniards, though the minority, are said to govern Central America. Those who are sprung from the old officials under the Spanish *régime* now constitute the nobility of the country. As a rule the Creoles are the leading merchants, physicians, and clergy. Socially, they hold themselves aloof from the mixed breeds; but in all other respects, says the traveller Squier, equality prevails. Many of the Creoles have been highly educated in foreign countries.

The Indians of Guatemala, where they are most numerous, ordinarily cultivate the soil. Few of them are found in the cities; they dwell in their own villages or on the plantations of the whites. They are supposed to be devout Catholics; but they still retain certain rites of their ancient religion. One wild tribe, the Lacandones, as was remarked above, retain their independence to the present day. Generally speaking, however, the Indians are no longer hostile to the descendants of their conquerors. According to their capacity they are acquiring a knowledge of the arts of peace and civilization.

When the foregoing pages went to press, all Central America was at peace, but in the month of February, 1907, war broke out between Honduras and Nicaragua. At the present writing the exact cause of the war is in dispute. Honduras maintains that a piece of territory awarded to that State by the King of Spain in a recent arbitration has not been given up by Nicaragua, and that President Zelaya of the latter State has been fomenting a revolution in Honduras. Zelaya, on the other hand, states that the Hondurans first invaded his territory. The immediate occasion of the trouble seems to have been the theft of a mule by some Nicaraguan troops and the charge of cattle-lifting brought by the Hondurans against the marauders. It was at first feared that the other states would join in the hostilities, but only Salvador thus far has taken part. In spite of the aid that this State gave to Honduras, Nicaragua led its troops in triumph to Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras, and not only captured that city but forced President Bonilla to flee. Later, he took refuge on a United States warship and will not be permitted to return to Honduras. With this incident, hostilities were suspended; and a definite peace is expected. At this writing it is announced that Nicaragua and Salvador have signed a treaty of peace. The friendly efforts of the governments of Mexico and the United States are being directed to the accommodation of the outstanding differences between the two chief contestants, and it is hoped that an agreement will be reached that will conduce to the political stability and the uninterrupted development of the great resources of the Central American republics.

*MEXICO, TEXAS, NEW MEXICO,*
*AND ARIZONA*

# CHAPTER I

## *BEFORE THE CONQUEST*

THE history of the native races of Mexico and Central America is so complex and so obscure that a very brief account of it will suffice for our purpose, which is to describe the development of European civilization after the discovery by Columbus, and the establishment of independent republics where once ruled the Aztecs, the Quichés, the Mayas, and the Spanish conquerors and their descendants.

The earliest date commonly agreed upon for the foundation of Mexico city or Tenochtitlán is 1325. Before that time there is the story of a fabulous Votanic empire founded by a demi-god, Votan, which lasted as late as the Christian era, and after the downfall of which came migrations of the stocks of people called Maya, Quiché, and Nahua, settling respectively in Yucatan, Guatemala, and Mexico.

According to H. H. Bancroft the Votanites came from the South, from a place called Xibalba in Central America. There was also a town called Tulan or Tollan, from which migrated the Quiché-Cackchiquels and the Yaquis. Other historians claim that the migrations were from the north, and they mention among the earliest tribes the Chichimecs and the Olmecs, who overcame the giants and built the great pyramid of Cholula. Then came the Nahua peoples: the Toltecs from a place generally called Huehue-Tlapallan as regards them, and the Aztecs or Mexicans from the same place, called Aztlan, when their group is concerned.

However neither of the opposing theories of a northern or of a southern origin "rests," says Kirk, in Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico,* "on a secure and sufficient basis."

At about the sixth century appeared the people commonly called Toltecs. They belonged to the Nahua stock and settled in Anáhuac, the "lake country", of the Mexican table-land. The history of their kings is related with many wonderful details by the Spanish and native historians, and the fall of their so-called empire is said to have taken place in the latter half of the eleventh century. The Chichimecs took possession of the city of Tollan and reduced the Toltecs to vassalage. The Tepanecs and Acolhuas had also taken part in the wars against the Toltecs.

At the end of the twelfth century the Aztecs or Mexicans, who had migrated from Aztlan, settled at Chapultepec. They were Nahuas who, prompted by the cry of a bird, had left Aztlan under command of Huitziton or Huitzilopochtli, probably called also Mexitl, or Mexi, whence Mexicas, or Mexicans. By some authorities the Aztecs are identified with the Toltecs, and John Fiske says that one might speak of the "Toltec period" in Mexican tradition as one would speak of the "Theban period" in Greek history. After the "Toltec period", with perhaps an intervening "Chichimec period", came the "Aztec period." Whether this theory is correct or not it is difficult to say, owing to the extraordinary confusion of early Mexican history. The fact, however, is agreed upon that the Aztecs founded the city of Mexico in the year 1325. They built their town at a place where they found in the lake marshes a rock, some say, a sacrificial stone, from a crevice of which grew in a little earth a cactus, upon which was an eagle holding a serpent in its beak. A priest dived into the pool or lake in which was the rock and had an interview with the god Ttlaloc, who said that on this very spot the people should build their town, Mexico Tenochtitlán. "Mexico," says Bancroft, "is generally taken to be derived from Mexitl, or Mexi, the other name of Huitzilopochtli, the favorite god

and leader of the Aztecs; many, however, think that it comes from *mexico,* springs, which were plentiful in the neighborhood. Tenochtitlán comes from *teonochtli,* divine nochtli, the fruit of the nopal, a species of wild cactus, and *titlan,* composed of *tetl* stone or rock and *an,* an affix to denote a place, a derivation which is officially accepted, as may be seen from the arms of the city. Others say that it is taken from *Tenuch,* one of the leaders of the Aztecs, who settled upon the small island of Pantitlan, both of which names would together form the word." The coat-of-arms of the Republic of Mexico was taken from the device of the rock and cactus, with the eagle and serpent, which the Aztecs had adopted as a tribal totem.

After many wars, in which the Aztecs had varying fortunes, a confederation was formed in 1431 in Anáhuac, as the plateau of Mexico was called, consisting of the three kingdoms of Acolhua, capital Tezcuco; the Aztec, capital Tenochtitlán; and the Tepanec, capital Tlacopan. It is very likely that John Fiske is right when he says that the confederation was a partnership between three pueblo towns for the organized and systematic plunder of other pueblos. He adds also that the so-called Aztec emperors or kings were really "Chiefs-of-Men", and that Montezuma's "Empire" at the time of the conquest was but a small portion of what is now Mexico.

The Aztec chiefs were military commanders of the confederation, and their names, from 1427 to 1502, were Izcoatzin or "Obsidian Snake", Montezuma or "Angry Chief", Axayacatl or "Face-in-the-Water", Tizoc or "Wounded Leg", and Ahuizotl or "Water-Rat." During the rule of the latter the city of Mexico was flooded by the water introduced by a new aqueduct, or rather by torrential rains which caused a spring to overflow. Ahuizotl died in 1502 and was succeeded by his nephew, Montezuma II, son of Axayacatl.

The office of "Chief-of-Men" or "Emperor" of the Mexicans was not hereditary, but was elective, although the

titular was always chosen from the same family of supposed divine origin. Montezuma II, at the time of his election, was high-priest of Huitzilopochtli and was a brave warrior. He seems to have favored the aristocratic or higher classes and to have greatly displeased the merchants and plebeians. During his reign he undertook numerous campaigns against the neighboring provinces, either to subdue revolts against the power of the Confederacy, of which the Aztecs were the leaders in war, or to conquer territories that still remained independent. Among the latter, Ttlascala was the most important, and Montezuma endeavored to attack it. In that war the Mexicans were unsuccessful, although they had for their allies the Huexotzincas and Cholultecs, and Montezuma's son was killed. Then there was a successful war with the Mixtecs, and many other expeditions against the people beyond the sphere of the Confederacy, in most of which the Mexicans were victorious and obtained many captives to sacrifice at the altars of their gods.

Human sacrifices were carried out by the Mexicans in such large numbers that we may well doubt the advanced civilization which their conquerors attributed to them. They seem to have been more attached to the rites of devotion to the sanguinary Huitzilopochtli than to those of the gentler Quetzalcoatl, and the legendary predictions of the latter that a foreign race would take possession of the country appeared on the point of being realized when news was received, in 1518, of the landing of white men at the spot where is now the city of Vera Cruz.

Several years before the arrival of the foreigners there were numerous signs and omens of disaster: burnings of temples, supernatural lights and comets, extraordinary visions of all kinds, the resurrection of a princess who described to Montezuma the future possessors of the land and their religion. In short, wonderful stories were told which frightened the people of the Anáhuac Confederacy and their rulers. Among those who were the most impressed with the unfavorable omens was Nezahualpilli, the chief of Tezcuco.

Montezuma and he became hostile to one another, and Nezahualpilli died in a mysterious manner in 1515. At his death his second son, Cacama, was chosen by the council to succeed him, with the approval of Montezuma, but the fourth son, Ixtlilxochitl, refused to accept the decision of the council, established himself by force of arms at Otompan in the north and finally divided the so-called kingdom with Cacama; the latter retaining Tezcuco, and the former the northern provinces. Ixtlilxochitl remained a bitter enemy of Montezuma and contributed a little later to the overthrow of the power of the Aztecs, whose chief, in spite of the evil omens, had continued to wage incessant wars against his neighbors and to sacrifice at the altars of his gods immense numbers of captives.

The last human sacrifices on a large scale, in the town or pueblo of Mexico, occurred in 1518, at the dedication of the temple of Coatlan. In the same year Juan de Grijalva reached the Mexican coast, and the news of the arrival of the strangers was announced to Montezuma by Pinotl, the governor of Cuetlachtlan. The latter had visited the ships of the Spaniard and had prepared paintings which gave an account of everything concerning the extraordinary visitors. The advice of the councillors of Montezuma was to treat the foreigners with kindness, as they doubtless were the children of Quetzalcoatl, whose return had been prophesied. Presents were sent to the Spaniards, but they arrived too late. The dreaded strangers had left the country promising however to return soon. Indeed, the next year, 1519, Hernán Cortés, with his followers clad in armor, with his terrible horses and his still more terrible firearms, was to tread the Mexican soil and to overthrow the power of the Mexicans. European civilization, although deficient in many respects, was soon to replace the peculiar but inferior civilization which the Nahuas had evolved on the beautiful plateau of Anáhuac. The "Empire" of Montezuma was too weak to resist the attacks of European invaders. It was surrounded by many hostile tribes, and it had abused the

privilege claimed by the conquerors of putting to death on the sacrificial stone thousands of captives. In spite of this bloody homage Huitzilopochtli did not protect his devotees against the invasion of the supposed children of Quetzalcoatl.

Before relating the conquest of Mexico by Cortés we shall give a brief account of the customs and manners of the Aztecs, taking as our chief guide the summary of Adolf Bandelier's results given by John Fiske in his *Discovery of America,* and making use also of H. H. Bancroft's works and of L. P. Verdía's *Compendio de la Historia de México.* Prescott followed too closely the Spanish historians and attributed to the ancient Mexicans a civilization superior to the one which they really possessed.

The large Aztec tribe was organized into twenty clans and four phratries. There was no individual ownership of land, and each clan occupied communal houses which belonged to it and could not be alienated, any more than the land upon which the houses were built. The government of the clan *(calpulli)* was vested in a council of chiefs *(tecuhtli),* and there was an official head *(calpullec)* and a military commander *(ahcacautin)* who was also a peace officer. Both officers were elected by the clan and could be deposed for cause. The city of Mexico was divided into four quarters corresponding to the four phratries. The phratry attended to religious, social, and military duties. The tribal council was composed of twenty members or "speakers" *(tlatoani)* and was called the *tlatocan* or "place of speech." The tribe had two executive chiefs: the civil executive *(cihuacoatl)* or "snake-woman", and the "chief-of-men" *(tlacatecuhtli).* The "snake-woman" was chief judge and lieutenant to the war-chief; and the latter was not only a military commander but exercised also priestly functions. His office was elective but, from 1375 to 1520, the choice was limited to a particular clan. The "chief-of-men" of the Aztecs, whom the Spaniards called king or emperor, was a "priest-commander", "and," says Mr. Fiske, "incipient royalty in Mexico had advanced at least one stage beyond the

head war-chief of the Iroquois and remained one stage behind the *basileus* of the Homeric Greeks." On being inducted into office the "chief-of-men" mounted to the top of the pyramid consecrated to Huitzilopochtli, where he was anointed by the high-priest and sprinkled with sanctified water. He then offered incense to the war-god. He resided in the *tecpan* or tribal house and directed the *calpixqui* or tax-gatherers who were also spies who sent information by couriers, called *ambassadors* by the Spaniards, to the "chief-of-men." The military commander could be deposed for misbehavior.

According to Bandelier there was no hereditary nobility or hereditary vocation or hereditary priesthood. Human victims were sacrificed on the summits of tall truncated pyramids called *teocallis,* and cannibalism was practised by the Mexicans. These people had attained the middle period of barbarism, and yet speaking of their chief city when first seen by the Spaniards, Mr. Fiske says very prettily: "Let it suffice here to say that, upon a reasonable estimate of their testimony, pleasure-gardens, menageries and aviaries, fountains and baths, tesselated marble floors, finely wrought pottery, exquisite feather-work, brilliant mats and tapestries, silver goblets, dainty spices burning in golden censers, varieties of highly seasoned dishes, dramatic performances, jugglers and acrobats, ballad singers and dancing girls,—such things were to be seen in this city of snake-worshipping cannibals. It simulated civilization as a tree-fern simulates a tree."

The ancient Mexicans understood agriculture and lived principally on maize. The Aztecs are said to have had on the lakes in Anáhuac wonderful floating gardens or *chinampas,* which were rafts covered with mud on which grew all the agricultural products of the country. These products were chiefly maize, beans, magueyes, cacao, chile or pepper, tomatoes, cotton, vanilla, and native fruits. Salt was also used by the Mexicans as well as honey and sugar extracted from the cornstalk, and their most popular beverages were *neutle,* now called pulque, the fermented juice of the

maguey, and *chocolatl,* chocolate. Fish, birds, and game were abundant, but there were no horses, oxen, or llamas, although in the museum in Mexico are to be seen fossil bones of these animals. Tobacco was used, and paper was made from maguey on which hieroglyphics were painted. The Aztecs were very skilful in dyeing cotton cloths in different colors, and they made use of gold, silver, copper, pearls, coral, and the precious stones, such as rubies, emeralds, opals, sapphires, cristal, and others. They were well advanced in architecture, and their cities or pueblos were much admired by the Spaniards, especially Mexico, which was said to have had three hundred thousand inhabitants at the time of the conquest, and which, being built partly over the waters of a lake, was called by the Europeans the American Venice.

The Aztecs were backward in the fine arts; their music was monotonous and little harmonious; their painting was rude, and their poetry of so little merit that hardly two or three odes have reached us which denote a literature in its infancy. They were more advanced in astronomy and calculated time more accurately than their European contemporaries, who had made a mistake of about ten days in the calendar, while the Mexicans or *Mexicas* were wrong only a few hours in their calculations. They had made some progress in medicine and could produce anesthesia.

They considered commerce an honorable profession, and in lieu of stores they met every five days at a market or fair called *tianquictli,* and the barters were done in perfect order, as the different articles were arranged in separate groups. A public official presided over the transaction and saw that the weights and measures were correct. As there was no coin transparent quills of gold dust, bits of tin cut in the form of a T, and grains of cacao were used counted by *xiquipilli,* equivalent to eight thousand *almendras.* Long and dangerous journeys were undertaken for their commerce by the Aztec merchants, who were also useful in collecting tributes for the rulers and in making known to them the existence of other tribes. However, owing to the want of

coin and of beasts of burden the commerce of the Aztecs cannot have reached a great state of development, although it had a certain importance and deserves to be noticed. "And what did the Spanish conqueror do with all this?" asks Señor Pablo Macedo. He destroyed it, as he destroyed everything he met on his way, making the great error of treating primitive people not for their good but for the good of his children and of the metropolis. He submitted the conquered to the economical ideas and necessities of his day and established a ruinous monopoly, which was indeed directed against foreigners, against the inhabitants of the colonies, and against the Spaniards themselves.

The Nahua nations, as we have said, understood picture-writing and consigned their records on scrolls of magueypaper, on strips of cotton cloth, or on prepared skins. Many of these writings were destroyed by the fanatical zeal of the Spanish priests, who believed them to be religious mysteries, but a few have been preserved and published with interpretations, first by Lord Kingsborough and then by the Duc de Loubat. The publications of the latter are most valuable and accurate, and have been an important contribution to Mexican archeology.

That the Aztecs were somewhat advanced in civilization is proved by the fact that water was brought to Mexico from the hill of Chapultepec, about two miles distant, by an aqueduct consisting of two pipes of masonry and built upon a causeway of masonry five feet high and five feet broad. The first aqueduct was built by Montezuma I and the second by Montezuma II. There were numerous fountains and baths in the well laid and very beautiful city, which, says Bancroft, "was situated in the salty part of the lake of Mexico, fifteen miles west of its celebrated rival Tezcuco, about one mile from the eastern shore, and close to the channel through which the volumes of the sweet water lake pour into the briny waters of the lake of Mexico, washing, in their outward flow, the southern and western parts of the city. The waters have, however, evaporated considerably since the time

of the Aztecs, and left the modern Mexico some distance from the beach."

The buildings were generally of adobe, but the important ones were of stone. For window-glass a transparent stone called *tecali* was used in the temples, of which the chief one in Tenochtitlán was that devoted to the war-god, Huitzilopochtli. It was immense and stood in the centre of the city. There were numerous temples or *teocallis* in the country of the Aztecs and some of them are still standing. The Mexican government is at present engaged in the laudable work of bringing to light the pyramids of the Aztecs, which are covered with earth and vegetation. In Yucatan are to be found well preserved monuments of the Mayas, whose civilization was probably as highly developed as that of the Nahua nations.

The language spoken on the central plateau of Anáhuac was the *Nahuatl,* of which there were several dialects. Certain people spoke in a singing fashion, others as if groaning, and still others as if they were weeping. There were in the whole country eleven families of languages and eighty-five dialects.

The principal god of the Aztecs was the terrible war-god Huitzilopochtli, called also Mexitli. He was born of Coatlicue, a young girl who, while sweeping the temple of Coatepec in Tollan, saw a ball of humming-bird feathers fall from the roof. She put it in her bosom and gave birth to the god, whose left leg was very thin and covered with humming-bird feathers.

The other divinities were Cihuacoatl or Coatlicue, mother and mistress of the gods; Tezcatlipoca (shining mirror), creative god; Ttlaloc, god of water; Tonatiuh, the sun; Meztli, the moon; Quetzalcoatl, god of the air; Xiuhteucli, goddess of the grass; Centeotl, goddess of corn; Mixcoatl, god of the hunt; Xipe, of the mines; Xicateuhctli, of commerce; Mictlateuctli, and Mitlancihuatl, his wife, gods of hell. There were also inferior gods or penates who were called Tepitoton.

The Aztecs had devised an ingenious and simple system of notation, by which they were enabled to indicate any quantity. They celebrated marriage rites with solemnity, and polygamy was allowed, although practised principally by the king, who had a harem, and by the higher classes. The women are said to have been pretty and shared the social festivities of their husbands. Children were subjected to a severe discipline, but were well cared for by their parents and educated in institutions which have been compared to our public schools.

The Spaniards were very much astonished to find among the religious rites of the Mexicans some which resembled those of the Christians, such as sprinkling the lips and bosom of infants with water in the ceremony of naming them, and confession of sins and crimes to priests. The existence of the cross as the emblem of the god of rain filled the Spaniards with amazement, so much the more as the Mexicans named it "Tree of our Life." Dr. Brinton, however, explains this symbol of worship as follows: "The arms of the cross were designed to point to the cardinal points and represent the four winds—the rain-bringers."

We have given a brief account of the history of the Aztecs before the conquest and of their customs and manners and institutions, and we shall now describe the country which they inhabited and which was called Anáhuac. That country, as we have said, was considerably smaller than the present Republic of Mexico. It covered, according to Prescott, less than sixteen thousand square leagues, if we do not include in this territory, as Humboldt did, the land of Michihuacán. Modern Mexico has somewhat the shape of a cornucopia, called by the Mexicans, *cuerno de la abundancia.* It is wide in the north, curved in the east, and the point of the cornucopia is formed by the peninsula of Yucatan, where the most ancient civilization is supposed to have arisen. It is bathed by the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans and traversed on both ocean coasts from north to south by the parallel ranges of the eastern and western Sierra Madres,

between which is a central plateau frequently crossed by mountain chains, sometimes independent from the parallel Sierra Madres but generally forming part of their system. In the valleys of Mexico and Toluca the plateau reaches its greatest elevation and gradually descends towards the north. In South America are the high Andes, which become generally volcanic in Central America, are lower in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and rise again at Oaxaca, where they form an enormous mass which soon branches in the Sierra Madres which run parallel to the ocean coasts.

Along the Atlantic Coast is a tract or zone, called the *tierra caliente* or hot region, which is very unhealthful. Then comes the *tierra templada* or temperate region, and finally the third zone, the *tierra fria,* or cold region, where is found at an elevation of nearly seven thousand five hundred feet the renowned valley of Mexico. Over the valley five lakes are spread, which occupied at the time of the Aztecs one-tenth of its surface. They are lakes Tezcuco, Tenochtitlán, Chalco, Xaltocán, and Tzompango.

The orographic system from north to south is not formed by one continuous chain of mountains, but by various chains which leave between them narrow valleys and deep cuts in which rapid torrents are formed. There are, therefore, hardly any navigable streams in Mexico, except for short distances and for light-draft boats. The mountain chains have no ridges on the coasts, which are generally flat and so shallow that on the Atlantic side Mexico lacks completely natural ports. The rivers rush from the mountains with such impetuosity that bars are formed and navigation is impeded. On the Pacific side are found some deeper and protected ports, such as Guaymas, Mazatlán, Manzanillo, Acapulco and others of less importance. At Salina Cruz the coast begins again to be difficult of access. The Mexican government has undertaken works to improve the ports or to form them. At Vera Cruz, especially, great and successful efforts have made this harbor one of the finest in the world.

Quaint Mexican *triqué* photograph representing the execution of Maximilian, Miramon, and Mejia, June 19, 1867, at Queretaro. The writing translated reads: "Last words of Maximilian. May my blood be the last which is shed, and may it regenerate this unfortunate country."

On account of the mountain ranges and swiftness of the rivers the Aztecs had been obliged to establish numerous roads for transportation and communication. These, however, were very narrow, as they were foot paths, there being no horses or beasts of burden.

The country of Anáhuac was formed by the "Empire" of the Aztecs, the "Kingdoms" of Acolhuacán and Tlacopan, the "Republics" of Tlascala, Cholula, and Huexotzinco, and the "Seignory" of Meztitlán. It was bounded on the north by the lands of the barbarous Otomies, Utoncas, and Chichimecas; on the south by the Pacific Ocean; on the southeast by the provinces of Xoconochco and Quauhtemallán; on the east by the Gulf and by the provinces of Coatzacoalco; and on the west by the "Kingdom" of Michihuacán.

The highest peaks are the Popocatepetl (the fuming mountain, 17,852 feet); Iztaccihuatl (the white woman); the Citlatepetl (the shining mountain); and the Poyauhtecatl or Pico de Orizaba.

The rivers that flow into the Gulf are the Papaloapan (of the butterflies), and the Coatzacoalco (where the serpent is hidden). Into the Pacific flow the Tecuantepec, the Xopes, the Zacatolan, and the Tolototlán.

We have seen what was the country of the Aztecs when Hernán Cortés saw it for the first time. We shall now relate how the intrepid Spaniard succeeded in conquering Anáhuac.

## CHAPTER II

### *BEGINNING OF THE CONQUEST*

In 1502 Columbus, on his fourth and last voyage, explored the coast of Honduras and attempted to found a settlement at Veragua, in Panama, and in 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean. The discovery and conquest of the land of the Aztecs by the Spaniards were now inevitable. In 1511 Diego Columbus sent Diego Velasquez from Española or Hispaniola to explore and conquer Cuba or Fernandina, which his celebrated father had discovered in 1492, and which, until his death, he had believed to be part of a continent. Velasquez easily conquered the island and declared himself independent from Diego Columbus, who had succeeded to the great Discoverer's title of Admiral.

A number of settlements were made in Cuba, and in 1517 Velasquez sent Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba to the neighboring islands on an expedition to procure Indian slaves. Córdoba was driven by storms from his course, and after three weeks he came to an unknown land which he called Punta de Catoche. The Indians were hostile, and the Spaniards, after coasting Yucatan as far as Campeche, Champoton and the river Estero de los Lagartos, returned to Cuba. Córdoba had not succeeded in his quest for slaves and had lost many of his men. He, himself, was wounded, and died shortly after his return.

The reports of Córdoba and the specimens of gold which he had brought back induced Velasquez to send another expedition to explore the country newly discovered. Four ships were fitted out, and the command of the expedition was given to Juan de Grijalva, a nephew of Velasquez. Pedro de Alvarado was one of the captains of Grijalva, and Antón Alaminos was his pilot, as he had been Córdoba's.

Grijalva visited again the places seen by Córdoba, and as he was better armed than the latter, he was able to resist the attacks of the Indians whom he met on the coast, and succeeded in trading with them. He obtained gold from the natives and sent it to Cuba in a caravel commanded by Alvarado. He, himself, returned to Matanzas in October, 1518, after having discovered several islands, among which was San Juan de Ulua, in the present harbor of Vera Cruz. Grijalva had followed the instructions given him by Velasquez, and had not endeavored to form a settlement in the country discovered by him. This displeased the governor of Cuba who entrusted the command of another expedition to Hernán Cortés. "Grijalva, however," says Prescott, "has the glory of being the first navigator who set foot on the Mexican soil and opened an intercourse with the Aztecs." He was modest and unassuming, and lacked the spirit of enterprise and self-confidence of Cortés, his illustrious successor.

Hernán Cortés was born at Medellín in Estremadura in 1485. His parents were of respectable but humble stock: his father, Martin Cortés y Monroy, was a captain of infantry, and his mother was Catalina Pizarro Altamirano. He was sent at fourteen to the University of Salamanca for the purpose of studying law later, but he preferred the life of an adventurer to that of a student, and left college after two years. He had acquired some knowledge of Latin, and had learned to write good prose, and even verses "of some estimation, considering"—as an old writer quaintly remarks—"Cortés as the author." His letters relating his conquest are written with force and elegance.

After leaving Salamanca Cortés formed different plans for beginning a soldier's life, at one time thinking of enlisting in the army of the Great Captain, Gonzalvo de Cordova, at another of sailing for Hispaniola with the governor, Nicolás de Ovando. Finally, in 1504, at the age of nineteen, he left his native country and went to Hispaniola, where he led the life of a planter, taking part meanwhile in expeditions undertaken for suppressing Indian revolts, and receiving from Ovando the appointment of notary of a small town. He was one of the companions of Velasquez in the latter's expedition to Cuba and distinguished himself there, acquiring the friendship of the governor, who made him one of his secretaries. This friendship he lost by not keeping his promise of marrying Doña Catalina Xuárez, whose sister Velasquez was courting. He then joined a disaffected party and agreed to go to Hispaniola to lay their grievances before the higher authorities. He was imprisoned by the governor, succeeded in escaping, and later married Doña Catalina and was again in favor with Velasquez, who named him *alcalde* of Santiago.

Cortés had acquired some wealth by mining and stock-raising when, in 1518, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the armada which Velasquez intended to send to explore more fully the country described by Córdoba and Alvarado and to go in search of Grijalva. The latter returned before the armada set sail but, as we have said, was not rewarded for his efforts, and took no part in the new expedition.

Cortés invested everything he had in the venture and received his instructions on October 23, 1518. These were to explore the country discovered by Córdoba, to restore to freedom the Spaniards who might have fallen into the power of the Indians, to attend to the conversion of the natives and to barter with them, and finally to "take *the most careful care* to omit nothing that might redound to the service of God or his sovereigns." This latter injunction might have been construed as permitting a conquest and settlement of the country, and Cortés, unlike Grijalva, was inclined to

understand, as Justin Winsor says, that instructions "were to be followed when necessary, and disregarded when desirable."

Velasquez, at that time, began to distrust the fidelity of Cortés, who had collected three hundred men at Santiago for the expedition and had spent all his money to get it started. The fleet sailed on November 18, 1518, went to Trinidad, where Cortés secured as a reënforcement many of Grijalva's men, and where orders were received from Velasquez to delay the departure of the ships, as he had named another commander for the expedition. No one, however, dared to arrest Cortés at Trinidad or at San Cristóbal (Havana), and at last he departed on his mission, on February 18, 1519. He had twelve vessels and over six hundred men, two hundred Indian slaves, men and women, and sixteen horses. His firearms were thirteen firelocks, ten guns, and four falconets. Among his companions were several who were to become distinguished in the history of the conquest: the pilot Antón Alaminos, Pedro de Alvarado, Alonso Hernández Puertocarrero, Alonso de Avila, Cristóbal de Olid, Francisco de Montejo, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Diego de Ordaz and Velasquez de León.

The vessels gathered at the Island of Cozumel near the point of Yucatan, and Cortés sent a few men to discover the Christians who were said to be in the captivity of the Indians. A Spaniard, named Jerónimo de Aguilar, heard of the arrival of the fleet and presented himself to the commander. He was one of two men who had survived out of a party of fifteen who had been wrecked on the coast eight years previously. Aguilar became very useful as an interpreter.

The Spaniards had, on March 25, a bloody encounter at Tabasco with the natives, whom they defeated, and they set sail on April 18 for San Juan de Ulua. They had received at Tabasco from the native king a present of twenty female slaves, among whom was the celebrated Marina or Malinche (in Aztec Malintzin), whom Cortés gave first to

Puertocarrero, but whom he took later as his own slave. She was an intelligent woman and was devoted to the Conqueror to whom she was of the greatest assistance as interpreter. Aguilar understood only the Maya language, while Marina knew both the Maya and the Nahuatl. Cortés and his companions spoke in Spanish to Aguilar who spoke in Maya to Marina, and she communicated in Nahuatl to the natives what the Spaniards wished to say.

Marina was born at Coatzacoalco in Mexico; her father was a powerful cacique who died when she was very young, and her mother having had a son by a second marriage, wished to secure for him the inheritance of Marina. She pretended that her daughter was dead, but delivered her to some traders who sold her to the cacique of Tabasco. Marina was very popular, both with the conquerors and with the conquered, whom she befriended as much as she could. She had by Cortés a son, Don Martin Cortés, whose name we shall see in the later history of Mexico.

At Tabasco Cortés had attended to the conversion of the natives, and had celebrated mass in great pomp on Palm Sunday, amidst a large concourse of the Indians. There was in the character of the Spanish conquerors a curious mixture of religion and of cruelty, instances of which we shall have occasion to notice in the course of our narrative.

The fleet of Cortés arrived at San Juan de Ulua on April 21, 1519, and soon the commander received the visit of a few natives in two canoes. They were friendly, and a force having been landed, Cortés began to trade with the Indians. He said that he wished to see Montezuma in his city and to bring to him the messages and gifts of his royal master. Messengers, therefore, were sent to Montezuma to announce the return of the strangers who had been seen in the same place the year before, and who seemed to realize the prophecy of Quetzalcoatl.

Montezuma sent to Cortés an embassy carrying costly presents and expressed his regrets at being unable to have an interview with him, as his capital was too far distant.

The strangers were told to return to their own country, an invitation which they hardly thought of accepting, after having seen the costly fabrics and the gold and silver of the Mexican chief. Cortés, therefore, requested the ambassadors to return to Montezuma and to express to him again his desire to have a personal interview with him. The second request was not granted any more than the first, and the Spanish chief saw that he must proceed with the conquest of the Empire, which was said to be so mighty and so rich. The first thing he wished to do was to establish his independence from Velasquez, and he accomplished his purpose in a very ingenious if not very honorable manner. He resolved to found a city to be called the Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, and he established a municipality which named him commander-in-chief of the expedition after he had resigned the powers which he had received from the governor of Cuba. He succeeded by severity and by intrigue in winning over to himself for a moment, at least, the friends of Velasquez. He took the precaution, however, to send as messengers to Spain Montejo and Puertocarrero, to explain his situation to the Spanish monarch and to take natives and a treasure to him.

In the meantime Cortés received messengers from the chief of the Totonacs, who requested him to visit him in his capital, Cempoalla. The Spaniards were delighted at this invitation and immediately started on their march, the fleet accompanying them along the coast. As the explorers advanced, the scenery changed from dreary plains to luxuriant vegetation, and they saw in the distance the lofty snow-capped Orizaba. They met with evidences of civilization, but beheld also the remains of the victims who had been sacrificed to the gods of the natives. The latter displayed their love of flowers by bearing bunches and wreaths on receiving the strangers in the town of Cempoalla. Many of the women and men were well clad in robes and mantles of fine cotton and wore jewels around their necks and rings of gold in their nostrils and ears.

The chief of Cempoalla informed Cortés that his tribe had lately been conquered by the Aztecs and that there were many nations which were hostile to Montezuma's rule. During the stay of the Spaniards in the town five Aztec tax-gatherers appeared to demand, in expiation of the reception given to the strangers, a tribute of twenty young men and women to be sacrificed to the gods. Emboldened by the presence of the strangers the Totonacs seized the tax-gatherers and imprisoned them. Cortés astutely delivered two of these and sent them back in safety to Montezuma, while he prevented the others from being sacrificed. He thus propitiated both parties: the Totonacs by encouraging them in not paying the tribute and the Aztecs by protecting the tax-gatherers. He soon obtained in this way the alliance of several chiefs against Montezuma. At that time the Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz was really founded at a place little distant from the present city of that name.

A conspiracy having broken out among some of his men to seize a vessel and return to Cuba, Cortés repressed it with great severity, and in order to bind his companions to him irrevocably he caused all his ships, except one small vessel, to be sunk in the harbor, under the pretext that the vessels were worm-eaten. He then left a garrison of one hundred men at Vera Cruz, destroyed the idols in the *teocalli* at Cempoalla and marched toward Mexico with a force of about four hundred and fifty Spaniards, six or seven light guns, fifteen horses, some Totonacs and many Indian attendants. On approaching the country of an independent people, those of Ttlascala, the invaders met with a stubborn resistance which they finally overcame. The Ttlascalans protected their lands by a wall which the Spaniards had scaled, and believing the conquerors to be children of the sun, the Indians had attacked them in vain by moonlight. Peace was made between the strangers and the men of Ttlascala, and the Spaniards entered the city on September 22, 1519. The Ttlascalans, from that time, were steadfast allies and friends of the invaders.

On October 13, Cortés set out for Cholula, which was the next important city on the march toward Tenochtitlán. The Cholulans were subjects to the Aztecs, although their town was of great antiquity and they themselves excelled in the mechanical arts. At Cholula was the great temple consecrated to the gentle god Quetzalcoatl. The immense mound or truncated pyramid on which the temple was built still stands, covered with shrubs and wild flowers, and from its summit there is a grand view which Prescott describes beautifully: "Towards the west stretched that bold barrier of porphyritic rock which nature has reared around the Valley of Mexico, with the huge Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl standing like two colossal sentinels to guard the entrance to the enchanted region. Far away to the east was seen the conical head of Orizaba soaring high into the clouds, and nearer the barren though beautifully-shaped Sierra de la Malinche, throwing its broad shadows over the plains of Tlascala."

The Spaniards were accompanied on their march by six thousand auxiliaries, Totonacs and Tlascalans, and on entering Cholula were well received by the inhabitants, who begged, however, that their enemies, the Tlascalans, be not allowed to enter their city. After the arrival of messengers of Montezuma the Cholulans appeared to be less friendly, and Marina learned of a plot made to exterminate the Spaniards. Cortés announced that he would leave Cholula the next morning and asked the principal caciques to furnish him two thousand men as attendants. He accordingly drew up the greater part of his troops within the court of a *teocalli,* posted the rest outside so as to command the avenues and gave orders to the Tlascalans to march into the city at a concerted signal. At the hour agreed upon the caciques arrived with many levies or *tamane,* and Cortés gave orders that they be attacked within the enclosure while unsuspecting and unarmed. A terrible massacre ensued, which lasted two days, and six thousand Cholulans were slaughtered. Too often, in the history of the Spanish conquerors, were

such horrible scenes enacted, scenes which expediency and self-preservation cannot excuse. "This massacre was committed," says the Mexican historian, Perez Verdía, "by men who preached the sublime religion of Christ and were horrified at the Aztec sacrifices. It is a criminal deed which Moral censures and Right condemns."

The Spaniards remained at Cholula until November 1, when they resumed their march to the capital of Montezuma. At Cuauhtecatl they received another embassy with rich presents from the Emperor or Chief-of-men, who, alarmed at the success of Cortés at Cholula, sent a nobleman adorned with his regal insignia to personate him. The impostor was recognized by the Totonacs and Ttlascalans, and the invaders advanced again towards the great city of Tenochtitlán. On the way Diego Ordaz, with nine Spaniards, ascended nearly to the crater of the gigantic Popocatepetl, into which, two years later, Francisco Montaño descended to gather sulphur to make gun-powder for the army.

On hearing of the Spaniards' approach Montezuma was bewildered. He consulted his council, and his brother Cuitlahua or Cuitlahuatzin advised him to attack the invaders, while his nephew, the King of Tezcuco, counselled that the Spaniards should be received with courtesy as the ambassadors of a foreign prince. Cacama's brother, Ixtlilxochitl, had already offered his alliance to Cortés. Montezuma, believing that the gods had declared against him, sent an embassy to the Spaniards at Amaquemecan to invite them to his capital. Greatly admiring the beautiful valley in which Tenochtitlán was situated, the invaders advanced on the causeways on the lakes, and on November 8, 1519, met outside his capital the ruler of the Aztecs, of whom a Mexican historian of our day has said with well-deserved scorn: "The haughty and proud monarch who would have reduced to vassalage with unequaled pride a hundred nations, prostrated himself at the feet of that handful of strangers! Voluptuousness had enervated that formerly warlike prince,

superstition had made him degenerate, and his despotism had raised enemies against him on all sides."

Montezuma had gone to meet Cortés, accompanied by his brother Cuitlahua and his nephew Cacamatzin or Cacama. He was gorgeously arrayed and received his unwelcome guest with great courtesy. Cortés endeavored to embrace him, according to the Spanish fashion, but was prevented by the Aztec princes, who considered this act disrespectful. The palace of Axayacatl, Montezuma's father, was assigned to the Spaniards as a residence, and they entered the city as conquerors, with colors flying and music playing. The Mexican ruler called on Cortés, and the latter returned the visit at the Emperor's palace, which was immense and which he admired greatly. Montezuma is said to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Spanish ruler whose subjects had come from where the sun rises, but Cortés understood, now that he was within the city of the Aztecs, what a difficult task it would be to dispossess the natives and conquer the country for the great Emperor Charles V. He, therefore, conceived a plan of wonderful boldness, that of seizing Montezuma and holding him captive.

It seems that an Aztec chief wishing to compel the men of Cempoalla to pay tribute, the latter had refused, according to the terms of their alliance with the Spaniards. Juan de Escalante, the commander at Vera Cruz, came to the aid of the Totonacs, and was killed, although the Aztec chief, Cuauhpopoca, was defeated. Cortés took this incident as a pretext and went to see Montezuma, accompanied by five of his most daring companions, Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Francisco de Lujo, Velasquez de León, and Alonso de Avila. He ordered also twenty-five or thirty of his soldiers to congregate in the palace, and he placed the greater part of his force in the courtyard and in the avenues leading to Montezuma's dwelling. The Aztec ruler received the Spaniards with his usual courtesy and even offered Cortés one of his daughters in marriage. The offer was declined, and the Spanish commander changing his tone

accused Montezuma of having instigated the deed of Cuauhpopoca and asked him to summon that chief. The Emperor gave orders to that effect, and Cortés then told him that he should reside at the house of the Spaniards in order to prove his innocence to the Spanish sovereign. Montezuma grew pale and refused to go with Cortés, thereupon Velasquez de León uttered threats which were conveyed to the Aztec by Marina, and the unfortunate Chief-of-men of the Mexicans was taken to the Spanish quarters a prisoner. "Cortés," says a modern historian of Mexico, "would have been ashamed of himself, as a man and as a knight, if he had wronged a European, but he was dealing with an idolater, with a barbarian, with an Indian, and he considered his treachery as a mark of cunning. The capture of Montezuma, as an indication of audacity, astonishes; as a deed of perfidy, it irritates." The deed is really wonderful as well as the future conduct of the conqueror. He caused Cuauhpopoca, his son, and fifteen nobles who had taken part in the combat with Escalante, to be burned at the stake in the presence of a multitude of Mexicans, and he put fetters for a while on Montezuma's ankles.

For several months after the Emperor's capture things were quiet in the capital. Cortés succeeded in capturing also Cacama, nephew of Montezuma, who had wished to create a revolt against the Spaniards. He caused two vessels to be built for use in the lakes; he had a survey made of the coast for nearly sixty leagues south of Vera Cruz, and selected a site for a fortified post at the mouth of the river Coatzacoalco. He obtained also a grant of land in the province of Oaxaca and established a plantation for the crown, and the strangest thing of all, he made Montezuma swear allegiance to the King of Spain and acknowledge himself his feudatory. His oath and those of his principal chiefs were attested by witnesses, and the royal notary made a record of the extraordinary proceedings. Tribute was ordered to be paid to the Spaniards and the treasure of Axayacatl was given to them by Montezuma. It is said to have been worth

in modern currency about six million three hundred thousand dollars. The distribution of that wealth was the cause of great dissatisfaction and little was left for the soldiers after the royal fifth had been deducted and also the expenses incurred for preparing the expedition.

Cortés had apparently succeeded in conquering the land of the Aztecs, and he now thought of establishing in their capital the Christian worship. The images of their gods were thrown out of the *teocalli,* and one of the sanctuaries of the great temple was consecrated to the Christian faith. By this act the Spanish commander incurred the deep hostility of the Indians, and Montezuma advised him to leave the country where he was no longer in safety. Cortés answered that he could not return to Spain without ships, and pretended to build some, trusting meanwhile in the patience and credulity of his captive, who gave no signal of revolt against him. Indeed, a little later, Montezuma informed Cortés of the arrival of Spanish ships at Vera Cruz, and told him that now he might depart as he had vessels at his disposal. The Conqueror believed at first that reënforcements had been sent to him from Spain through the efforts of his envoys Puertocarrero and Montejo, but he soon heard from Gonzalo de Sandoval that the newcomers had been sent by the Governor of Cuba with evil intent against him.

Diego Velasquez had not forgiven his former subordinate for his disloyalty to him, and when he heard of the treasures which Cortés had sent to Europe, he determined to supersede him in Mexico and to prosecute the conquest for his own account. He organized easily a large expedition, as all adventurers were eager to go to the land of gold, and placed it under the command of Panfilo de Narvaez. The latter's squadron consisted of eighteen vessels and carried nine hundred men and was the largest, except that of Ovando, in 1501, that had ever sailed in the Indian seas. It left Cuba in the beginning of March, 1520, and anchored off San Juan de Ulua on April 23. Narvaez sent a priest, Guevara, with two officers and a notary, to Sandoval, who commanded at

Villa Rica, to summon him to give his allegiance to Narvaez and Velasquez, but the intrepid commander, incensed at the impudent tone of Guevara, caused him and his associates to be tied on the backs of Indian porters, *tamane,* and sent them to Cortés at Mexico. When the Conqueror heard of their approach he had them released and put on horses, and treated them with great courtesy. He understood, however, the difficulty of his situation and resolved immediately to march against Narvaez. He left Alvarado in command in Mexico with about one hundred and forty men, gathered many Indian auxiliaries among the most warlike tribes, and having been reinforced by Sandoval and Velasquez de León, who had returned from his exploration down the coast, he took Narvaez by surprise, attacked him by night, completely defeated his force and captured him. The loss on both sides was small, and most of his adversary's men joined Cortés and became useful auxiliaries. On seeing his conqueror after his defeat, Narvaez said to him: "You would be right, Señor Cortés, to thank fortune for having made me a prisoner with so much facility," to which the great commander replied: "I have much for which to be grateful to fortune, but the least thing I have done in this country is having captured you." But such was not the case, for the expedition of Narvaez had been a great danger to him, and he had displayed admirable skill and courage in thwarting the plans of his enemy Velasquez. He ordered the vessels of Narvaez to be dismantled, as well as any ships that might enter the port of Vera Cruz.

In the hour of his success Cortés received bad news from Mexico; it was tidings of the uprising of the Mexicans and of their attack against the Spaniards. The revolt had been caused by a cruel deed of Alvarado, his massacre on May 20, 1520, of hundreds of the noblest Aztecs during a war-dance in the temple. The lieutenant of the Conqueror, whom the natives called *Tonatiuh,* on account of his blond hair, pretended that the Mexicans had planned to attack the Spaniards after the festival and he had merely anticipated

them as his chief had done at Cholula. Cortés hastened to Mexico by the shortest route, and except from the Ttlascalans, did not meet with a hearty reception on the way. On arriving at the capital he found Alvarado and his men besieged in their quarters, and noticed with a certain disquietude that his brigantines on the lake had been destroyed, a fact which would render egress from the city difficult. He reproved Alvarado for his mad deed, but had no doubt of his being able to subdue the insurrection. He had taken with him into Mexico about a thousand foot soldiers and one hundred horsemen and many Ttlascalan auxiliaries. His campaign against Narvaez had greatly increased his army.

As the market or *tianguez* had been suspended by the Mexicans Cortés liberated Cuitlahua, the brother of Montezuma, whom he had captured with Cacama, with the hope that the prince might allay the sedition and reëstablish the market days. Cuitlahua, however, was received by the Mexicans as the representative of Montezuma and proved to be a far more dangerous enemy than his brother. He immediately set to work to direct the operations against the Spaniards more efficiently. The latter were attacked with great fury in their quarters, which were the stone palace of Axayacatl, and although thousands were mowed down by the artillery of the invaders, the attack ceased only with the approach of night. Cortés made a sally the next day and repulsed the enemy again with great slaughter, but he saw with astonishment that the Aztecs were not dismayed and would renew the attack on his quarters. He therefore prevailed on Montezuma, as Alvarado had done shortly before, to mount on the central turret of the palace. The imprisoned chief put on his imperial robes and on June 27, 1520, addressed an immense crowd in the square. He ordered his people to lay down their arms and asked them to show their obedience to him. He said that the white men would go back to their own land if a way was open for them, and all would be well again within the walls of Tenochtitlán. The Mexicans listened at first with reverence to the words of

Mariano Arista.

Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna.

*From the engravings by P. Ross in the Library of Congress, Washington.*

their sovereign, but after a while they became indignant and upbraided him for his cowardice. One of the chiefs, some say his own nephew Cuauhtemoc, or Guatemozin, pointed an arrow at him, and immediately he was assailed with a volley of stones and severely wounded.

The position of the Spaniards in their quarters was most perilous, especially as the Mexicans had taken possession of the great *teocalli* of their war-god, from which they discharged a tempest of arrows on their enemies in the palace of Axayacatl. Cortés saw that it was absolutely necessary to dislodge them from the pyramid, and he accomplished this after having displayed the greatest bravery and having lost forty-five of his valiant soldiers. The struggle had been heroic on both sides, and the Spaniards had driven the Indians from step to step, from landing to landing, until they had met on the very summit of the *teocalli,* where for three hours a dreadful combat had taken place, in which all the Aztecs except two priests had either been slaughtered or hurled to the pavement. On the top of the pyramid was the sacrificial stone and two sanctuaries, of which one had been consecrated to the Christian worship and the other contained the figure of Huitzilopochtli. The Christians set fire to the pagan temple and threw down the idol into the great square below, where it lay undiscovered for a long time. It is now in the museum at Mexico.

After the capture of the *teocalli* Cortés made another unsuccessful sortie to drive away the besiegers, and he realized that he must abandon the city or perish in the attempt. At that time Montezuma or Motecuhzoma II died, on June 30, 1520.

The Spaniards have been accused of having murdered Montezuma as well as Cacamatzin, king of Tezcuco, and the rulers of Ttlatelolco and of Ttlacopan, and several nobles and priests who were prisoners. This opinion is adopted by Señor Perez Verdía in his very interesting *History of Mexico,* who states that these murders were committed to occupy the attention of the Indians who, whenever any of their

chiefs died, attended exclusively to the funeral ceremonies. H. H. Bancroft, however, gives all the authorities on the subject and does not believe that Montezuma, at least, was murdered, as he was more valuable to the conquerors as a captive than as a corpse. This motive for not murdering his captive is far from complimentary to Cortés, but expediency seems to be the principal guide in a conqueror's career.

Montezuma had refused to adopt the creed of his conquerors and had commended his children to the care of Cortés, especially his three daughters. He was forty-one years of age and had been Chief-of-men or "Emperor" of the Aztecs since 1503. Before the arrival of the Spaniards he had been warlike and haughty, and his submission to them can only be explained by the superstitious awe with which he considered them as the children of Quetzalcoatl, who had returned to claim their own. Although he was half a barbarian his fate excites our pity, and we cannot help deploring the misfortunes and sufferings inflicted on the natives in establishing European civilization in the New World.

One of Montezuma's daughters, Tecuichpo, was married to her cousin, Guatemozin, the last of the Aztec Emperors. After his death she embraced Christianity and was named Isabella. She married four Castilians of honorable family, and from her and her sister Mariana are descended illustrious Spanish families. It is interesting to notice that one of the Emperor's descendants, Doña Maria Gerónima Montezuma, was the wife of Don José Sarmiento de Valladares, Count of Montezuma, who was viceroy of New Spain from 1697 to 1701. Philip II bestowed the title of count on the head of the family, and in 1765 Charles III made the Count of Montezuma a grandee of Spain. The last of the line, says Prescott, when seventy years old or more, went to Mexico after the fall of the Emperor Iturbide, in the vain hope that he might be placed on the throne of his Indian ancestors, "but the modern Mexicans, with all their detestation of the old Spaniards, showed no respect for the royal

blood of the Aztecs. The unfortunate nobleman retired to New Orleans, where he soon put an end to his existence by blowing out his brains,—not for ambition, however, if report be true, but disappointed love." Carbajal Espinosa, author of a *History of Mexico,* says that the Count of Montezuma killed himself on account of a love trouble, "although he was at that time more than seventy or eighty years of age (a pesar de que contaba entónces mas de setenta ú ochenta años de edad)." The assertions of Prescott and Espinosa throw a kind of ridicule on the death of the last direct descendant of the Emperor of the Aztecs, and we should be grateful to Dr. Gustave Devron who, in a communication to the *Athénée Louisianais* in New Orleans, gave the true facts in the matter. His Excellency, Señor Don Alfonso de Montezuma, committed suicide by cutting his throat and died in New Orleans on October 22, 1836. His death was indeed caused by a disappointment in love, but he was only fifty-two years of age and not seventy or eighty. Dr. Devron obtained from the curate of Santiago, in the town of Lorca, in Spain, an official copy of Montezuma's certificate of baptism, which stated that "Alfonso Josef Antonio Pedro Nolasco Nicolas Diego Manuel de Santa Gertrudis, hijo legitimo de D. José Marsilla Montezuma, Caballerizo de Campo de Su Mgd. y de Da. Saltadora García de Alcaraz y Torecilla," was born on February 6, 1784, at 1 o'clock in the morning.

H. H. Bancroft gives the name of the Count of Montezuma as being Alonso Marcilla de Teruel Montezuma.

Dr. Devron produced also an official copy from the records of the Board of Health of Louisiana, giving the same date to Montezuma's birth and death as stated above. The unfortunate gentleman, who had had large estates in Spain and who had been chief civil magistrate in Madrid in 1816, 1817 and 1818, resided eight years in New Orleans. When he died, in 1836, he did not leave enough to pay his debts, as is proved by the following official inventory of his property:

"$2.65 in small coin found in one of his pockets,
and produce of the sale.....$324.87
Court fees .....185.18

Leaving a balance of.....$139.69

to be divided among the privileged creditors, Dr. Puissant and Calixte Labiche, free woman of color, nurse, whose bills were each of $300, and who received individually $69.84½." These details concerning the last of the Montezumas are, we believe, interesting and prove the irony of fate. They might have been included by Alphonse Daudet in his celebrated novel, *Les Rois en Exil.*

## CHAPTER III

### *COMPLETION OF THE CONQUEST*

On the very day of the death of Montezuma, June 30, 1520, at midnight, after having heard mass said by Father Olmedo, the Spaniards left their quarters and set out on their march to abandon the city which they believed they had conquered. Cortés had decided on a night retreat, as the Mexicans rarely fought except in daytime, and also because he hoped the army might make considerable advance before being detected. Of the treasure amassed by the Christians only part could be rescued, and permission was given the soldiers to take whatever gold they could carry. Many of the Spaniards, especially the men who had been with Narvaez, loaded themselves with gold, which was the cause of their death a little later when they endeavored to cross the canals which separated the city from the mainland.

The vanguard, composed of infantry, was commanded by Gonzalo de Sandoval, and with him were Diego de Ordaz and Francisco de Lujo. The centre was under the command of Cortés himself and was composed of the artillery, the baggage, the treasure, the women, and the prisoners, who were a son and two daughters of Montezuma. Pedro de Alvarado and Velasquez de León commanded the rear guard which consisted of the strength of the infantry, and with which most of the heavy guns were ultimately left. There were also about six thousand Ttlascalan allies distributed

among the three divisions. With the general were some of his veteran soldiers and Cristóbal de Olid, Francisco de Morla, and Alonso de Avila.

As the Mexicans had destroyed all the bridges on the canals, Cortés had had a portable bridge made, and Magarino had charge of it with fifty soldiers. The Spaniards began their retreat on the causeway of Tlacopan, in which were three openings. The night was very dark, and there was a drizzling rain. For a time there was no opposition, but on their approaching the causeway, after leaving the street of the city, the alarm was given by the sentinels, and soon the great drum or *huehuetl,* which was sounded only on great occasions, called the Mexicans to arms.

The Spaniards were attacked by numberless enemies in canoes, in the streets and from the *azoteas* or flat roofs of the houses. The army succeeded, after stubborn fighting, in crossing the first canal on the portable bridge, but as only twenty men could march on a front on the causeway, the vanguard reached the second canal long before any attempt could be made to transport the bridge to the breach. There they were exposed for a while to a tremendous attack, which they sustained while waiting for the bridge, but it never came. The weight of the troops and of the artillery had imbedded it so firmly in the earth that Magarino and his men were unable to move it. The situation of the army on the narrow causeway was then desperate. Some of the men succeeded in crossing the two openings on horseback, others by swimming, and others on an awful bridge formed of dead bodies, baggage and pieces of artillery, but the greater part of the army perished in that "Melancholy Night," the celebrated *Noche Triste* in Mexican history. Cortés, as always, behaved as a brave soldier and zealous captain. He fought heroically and crossed the last canal by a ford, but returned, although wounded, with some of his horsemen to the help of the rear guard. He could do but little for that division of the army, and most of the men composing it, more than one hundred, returned to their quarters in the city, where,

after holding out for three days, they surrendered and were sacrificed to the Mexican gods.

Alvarado, who was one of the commanders of the rear guard, was severely wounded, but he is said to have saved his life by setting his long lance in the bottom of the lake and making a tremendous leap over the gap. The place where this feat was performed is still called in Mexico *Salto de Alvarado,* although it is more likely that the Spanish warrior crossed on a beam which had been left when the bridge was destroyed. His fame, however, as a wonderful "pole vaulter" has been fixed eternally by legend which is often mightier than history.

After reaching the mainland Cortés took the remnant of his army to a hill on which was an Indian temple which has been replaced by a church called *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.* He is said to have sat under a large tree and to have shed tears over the sad condition of his soldiers, but although the tree of the gloomy night, *el árbol de la noche triste,* is shown the traveller in the modern city of Mexico, it does not prove the truth of the story of the despair of Cortés, any more than the rent rock at Roncevaux proves that Roland cut the grey stone with his celebrated sword Durendal.

The losses during the retreat were enormous: four hundred and fifty Christians and four thousand Indian allies, the children of Montezuma, the greater part of the treasure, forty-six horses, all the artillery, and nearly all the firearms. Among the killed were Juan Velasquez de León and Salazar, Cortés's page, and others of the bravest knights. One of the Spanish women, María de Estrada, fought with as much courage as the most valiant cavalier.

The Spanish commander wished to retreat to Ttlascala, and on his way was met on July 7, at Otompan or Otumba, by an immense army commanded by Cihuacoatl. The Spaniards fought gallantly with pike and sabre but would have been defeated had it not been for the bravery and wisdom of Cortés. He had heard that the Mexicans always fled

when fell the banner borne by their chief. The Spanish commander, therefore, rushed against Cihuacoatl, accompanied by his brave lieutenants, Sandoval, Alvarado, Olid, and Dominguez, and hurled the Mexican chief bearing the standard to the ground. The latter was killed and his army utterly routed. The victory was really wonderful.

The Spaniards now marched towards the country of the Ttlascalans, who had, thus far, been their faithful allies, but after the terrible events of the *Noche Triste,* they were no longer certain of the fidelity of the Indians. The mind of Cortés was relieved of a heavy burden when, on arriving at the first town of the Ttlascalans, the Spaniards were received in the most friendly manner. They proceeded then to the capital, Ttlascala, and were lodged in the very palace of the ruler, Maxixca. There, Cortés suffered terribly from a fever brought about by his wound, and came near dying. He heard at Ttlascala of the loss of the gold which he had left in that town before starting on his campaign against Mexico. Five horsemen and forty foot soldiers who had come from Villa Rica and had endeavored to bring the treasure to Cortés at Tenochtitlán had been killed by the enemy. Several detached parties of Spaniards met also with the same fate. Fortunately Villa Rica remained in the possession of the invaders.

At Ttlascala Cortés had to overcome the opposition of some of his men who wished to return to Cuba, and having received reinforcements of new arrivals on the coast, which had pronounced for him, he resolved to march against the men of Tepeaca and to conquer their capital.

The campaigns of the Spaniards until their final victory were all of great difficulty, because the Mexicans had rulers who fought with courage and ability. On the death of Montezuma his brother Cuitlahuatzin succeeded him, and was duly crowned as chief-of-men. It was he who had resisted the Spaniards so valiantly in the *Noche Triste* and who had brought about the engagement at Otumba. He now endeavored to win the men of Ttlascala, Michihuacán

and Cholula from their fidelity to Cortés, but he failed completely with the Ttlascalans and had little success with the others. The Spaniards obtained, therefore, the support of a very large number of the natives, without which it would have been impossible for them to have accomplished their conquest. Cortés vanquished the men of Tepeaca, entered and sacked their capital, and established there a settlement which he named *Segura de la Frontera.* His plan was to occupy all the hostile places between Ttlascala and Tenochtitlán and to leave behind him no enemies who had not been brought into subjection.

The first town against which the Spaniards marched was Cuauhquechollan. The cacique betrayed the Aztecs, and the garrison was attacked by the inhabitants, on the approach of Cortés, and put to the sword. Then took place a well-contested action, between the Spaniards and Ttlascalans on one side, and a large Mexican force which was stationed near the town. The latter were routed, as usual, and a large booty fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Iztocan was next captured and sacked, and a hundred *teocalli* were burned. Communications were restored by Sandoval between Vera Cruz and Ttlascala, the secretary, Andrés de Duero, and some of the former followers of Narvaez were allowed to return to Cuba, and large numbers of Indian auxiliaries joined the Spanish forces. Cortés was now ready to advance again against Tenochtitlán, from which he had made such a disastrous retreat.

Fortune seemed to favor the Spaniards and to be hostile to the Aztecs. Small-pox had been imported into the country by a negro slave who had come with Narvaez, and had spread rapidly among the Indians. Thousands of the natives perished, among whom were the ruler of Ttlascala, Maxixcatzin, the faithful friend of the Spaniards, and the Chief-of-men or "Emperor", Cuitlahuatzin. The latter died on November 26, 1520. "He was," says a modern Mexican historian, "one of the most distinguished heroes in the history of Mexico at that interesting period, although his name is not

known as it deserves to be." He was succeeded by Cuauhtemoctzin, aged twenty-three, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, commonly called Guatemozin, and who proved to be just as energetic and able as his predecessor.

On October 30, 1520, Cortés had written to the Emperor Charles V his second letter, which was received with great interest in Spain and in which he says: "It seemed to me that the most appropriate name for the said land, was to call it 'New Spain of the Ocean Sea' *(la Nueva España del Mar Océano):* and thus in the name of Your Majesty this name was given it; I humbly beg Your Majesty to approve it and order that it be called so." Grijalva had already given the name of "New Spain" to Yucatan.

Cortés did not yet know whether the Emperor would approve his conduct since he had left Cuba, and he sent to his sovereign another letter signed by nearly all his officers and men asking that he be confirmed in his authority and relating his extraordinary career in Mexico.

In order to succeed in the conquest of Tenochtitlán Cortés knew that he needed vessels with which to resist the attacks of the Mexican canoes in the lake. He ordered, therefore, Martin Lopez, the shipbuilder, to build thirteen brigantines at Ttlascala, and these having been completed were tried in the river Zahuapan, and being found satisfactory were taken to pieces and carried by eight thousand Indian *tamane* to the waters of Lake Tezcuco. Two hundred Spanish foot soldiers and fifteen horse, commanded by Sandoval, and twenty thousand Ttlascalans, formed an escort to the improvised fleet.

The Spaniards set out on their march to Tezcuco on December 28, 1520, after Cortés had published a severe code of ordinances for the army, in which he reminded his men that their principal purpose should be the conversion of the heathens, *without which the war would be manifestly unjust, and every acquisition made by it, a robbery.* The route chosen was the most difficult one of three, and was rough and precipitous until the invaders entered the Valley of

Mexico. On December 31 they took possession peaceably of the town of Tezcuco, the capital of Acolhuacán, where had reigned the wise Nezahualpilli and Cacamatzin, whom Cortés is said to have murdered, but who probably perished in the retreat from Mexico. As the chief of Tezcuco had fled, the Spanish commander caused a ruler favorable to the foreigners to be chosen. He died soon after and was succeeded by Ixtlilxochitl, who was to be the most efficient ally of the Spaniards in their expedition against Tenochtitlán.

From Tezcuco as a base for his operations Cortés made several reconnoissances into the surrounding country, capturing Ttlacopan and penetrating the southern border of the Valley of Mexico. In one of these expeditions he fell into the hands of the enemy who, wishing to keep him to be sacrificed, gave time to his men to liberate him. On his return to Tezcuco he quelled an insurrection of which the purpose had been to murder him.

The brigantines were launched on the lake, on April 28, 1520, and on May 20 the final march on Tenochtitlán was begun. The army consisted of nine hundred Spaniards, with eighty-seven horses, and there were three heavy guns and fifteen small ones, mostly in the fleet. The host was divided into three divisions: the first was commanded by Pedro de Alvarado, with headquarters at Ttlacopan; the second, by Cristóbal de Olid, with headquarters at Coyohuacán; the third by Gonzalo de Sandoval, with headquarters at Iztapalapan. Cortés himself commanded the fleet, which was composed of the thirteen brigantines and of many Indian canoes. On the march the commander caused to be hanged as a deserter Xicotencatl, one of the princes of Ttlascala, who had bravely opposed the Spaniards on their arrival in the country and had never been friendly to them since.

The operations against Tenochtitlán began really on May 20, 1521, with the partial destruction by Alvarado and Olid of the great aqueduct at Chapultepec, by which the city was supplied with water. The three lieutenants of Cortés, Olid, Alvarado, and Sandoval succeeded in occupying respectively

Coyohuacán, Ttlacopan and Iztapalapan, and the commander-in-chief set sail from Tezcuco with his fleet of brigantines and Indian canoes to inspect the position of his lieutenants. Near the southern shore stood a high rock, called since "Rock of the Marquis"—*Peñon del Marqués*—from which the Mexicans signaled the movements of the Spaniards to the inhabitants of the city. When Cortés passed by the rock he was assailed by a shower of stones and darts. He immediately landed, and, in spite of the steepness of the rock and the intrepidity of the defense, took possession of the station and killed all his adversaries. He then attacked with his armada, the Indian fleet which had come up to aid their companions, and destroyed nearly all the canoes, making himself master of the lake. He then dislodged the enemy from two towers which stood at Xoloc, the point of junction of the principal causeway and that of Coyohuacán. A week later the dike of Tepeyacac was occupied, and the city was completely blockaded.

Supported by the brigantines and by a small body of cavalry Cortés succeeded, after hard fighting, in reaching the principal square, where stood the great *teocalli*. They did not find the cross and other emblems of the Christian faith which they had left in one of the sanctuaries, but a new idol of the war-god Huitzilopochtli. They took away his golden mask, and retreated from the city at night time.

The success of Cortés in penetrating into the very centre of the city brought about the submission of several places in the neighborhood, and at that time Ixtlilxochitl arrived with large reinforcements from Tezcuco. Three days after the first a second attack was made, and the invaders reached again the great square. Cortés then destroyed by fire the palace of Axayacatl, where had been his former headquarters, and Montezuma's House of Birds. The Mexicans fought as desperately as on the first day, and it was with difficulty that the Spaniards retreated again to their camp. At night the Indians destroyed the works made by the Spaniards during the day to cross the breaches in the causeways, and the

fight went on wearily on land and on water. Cuauhtemoctzin succeeded by a stratagem in capturing one of the brigantines and in killing two distinguished captains, Juan de Portillo and Pedro de Barba.

Wearied by the slowness of the siege the Spaniards entreated Cortés to make a general assault on the city, and this he consented to do on June 28, 1521. The march was to be towards the market place of Ttlatelolco which would serve as a base for operations. The treasurer Alderete advanced rapidly with one body of Cortés's division on the widest street, but neglected to fill up as he advanced the ditches and openings in the causeway, as ordered by the general. Alderete had nearly reached the market place when the sound of the sacred drum was heard, and a desperate attack was made upon him by the Mexicans. The Spaniards were routed and, retreating in disorder, arrived at an opening in the causeway, on the other side of which stood Cortés and his followers. A dreadful contest took place there, the general was wounded in the leg and was only disentangled from the grasp of the Mexicans by the heroic efforts of Cristóbal de Olca who was mortally wounded, by Quiñones, the captain of his guard, and others of his followers. He finally rallied the forces of Alderete and ordered the bodies in charge of Jorge de Alvarado and Andrés de Tapia to retreat. Pedro de Alvarado and Sandoval, commanders of the two other divisions of the army, retreated also after having nearly reached the market place. The Indians had thrown at them three bloody heads of Spaniards, shouting: "Malinche," which was the name they gave Cortés, while they had hurled two heads at the commander with the cries of "Tonatiuh" (Alvarado) and "Sandoval." The latter captain made on that day a grand ride on his famous charger Motilla.

The loss of the Spaniards in killed and wounded was severe, and sixty-five of their number and many allies were captured. The fate of the captives was dreadful, for, in the evening, they were all sacrificed on the sacrificial stone on the summit of the great pyramid and a banquet was prepared

with their remains. Cortés and his army witnessed from their camp these horrible scenes which were repeated whenever new captives fell into the hands of the Mexicans. Cuauhtemoctzin sent round the country several heads of Spaniards and of horses and called upon his former vassals to desert the cause of the invaders. Many of the allies of Cortés, even some of the Ttlascalans, abandoned him, but he was not discouraged and maintained a strict blockade of the city.

The Aztec priests had prophesied that the war-god would deliver their enemies to his devotees within eight days, and when that time had passed without the fulfillment of the prophecy the confidence of the allies in the Spaniards was renewed, and nearly all returned to their allegiance. The general even sent Tapia and Sandoval to the succor of distant friendly towns and impressed his confederates with his power. He received also at the time reinforcements and ammunition in a vessel belonging to the fleet which Ponce de León had gathered for the discovery of Florida and which had stopped at Villa Rica.

Cortés formed now a plan of attack which could not fail, that of leading the way with the fighting men, while Indian auxiliaries armed with *coas* or hoes were to destroy every building on the way and fill the canals with the *débris,* so as to make land, said the Conqueror, out of what was water. The plan was steadily executed, and as the army advanced into the city the buildings were razed. Alvarado succeeded in reaching the great *teocalli* and set it on fire, and gradually the army marched towards the market place. The besieged were hemmed in in a small part of Mexico and suffered horribly from famine, want of water, and pestilence. Cortés called on Cuauhtemoctzin to surrender, but the latter replied that he would rather die, and assaults were made by the Spaniards with terrible slaughter of the Mexicans. The Emperor promised twice that he would meet his adversary to arrange terms of surrender, but he never appeared, and Cortés made a general attack, followed into the city by his Indian allies who gave no quarters to any of the besieged.

Thousands of the Aztecs perished on that day, and the work of death and destruction was completed on August 13, 1521, the day of St. Hippolytus, chosen from this circumstance, says Prescott, as the patron saint of modern Mexico. Cuauhtemoctzin tried to escape in one of his largest boats or *piraguas,* but he was captured by a Spanish captain named Garci Holguin and taken to his conqueror, who from an *azotea* or roof of a house was directing the movements of his troops. Together with the Emperor were his wife, the deposed lord of Tezcuco, the lord of Ttlacopan, and several caciques and dignitaries. Cortés had by his side his faithful Marina, who served as interpreter in his interview with Cuauhtemoctzin. The Aztec prince told his conqueror that he had done all that he could to defend himself and his people until he was reduced to this state, and now he could do with him what he wished, and placing his hand on a poniard which the Spanish commander had, he said that the latter should strike him with his dagger and kill him. Cortés received his prisoner and his wife with courtesy and ordered them to be taken to Coyohuacán. The victorious army retired afterwards from the city, each division to its respective quarters, and only a small guard was left in the doomed place.

After the capture of their Emperor the Mexicans made no further resistance and were allowed to leave their capital. Their losses had been immense, while the besieging army of about one thousand Spaniards and many thousand Indian allies is said to have lost about one-tenth of their number. The siege had lasted nearly three months, and with the fall of Tenochtitlán ended the independence of Anáhuac.

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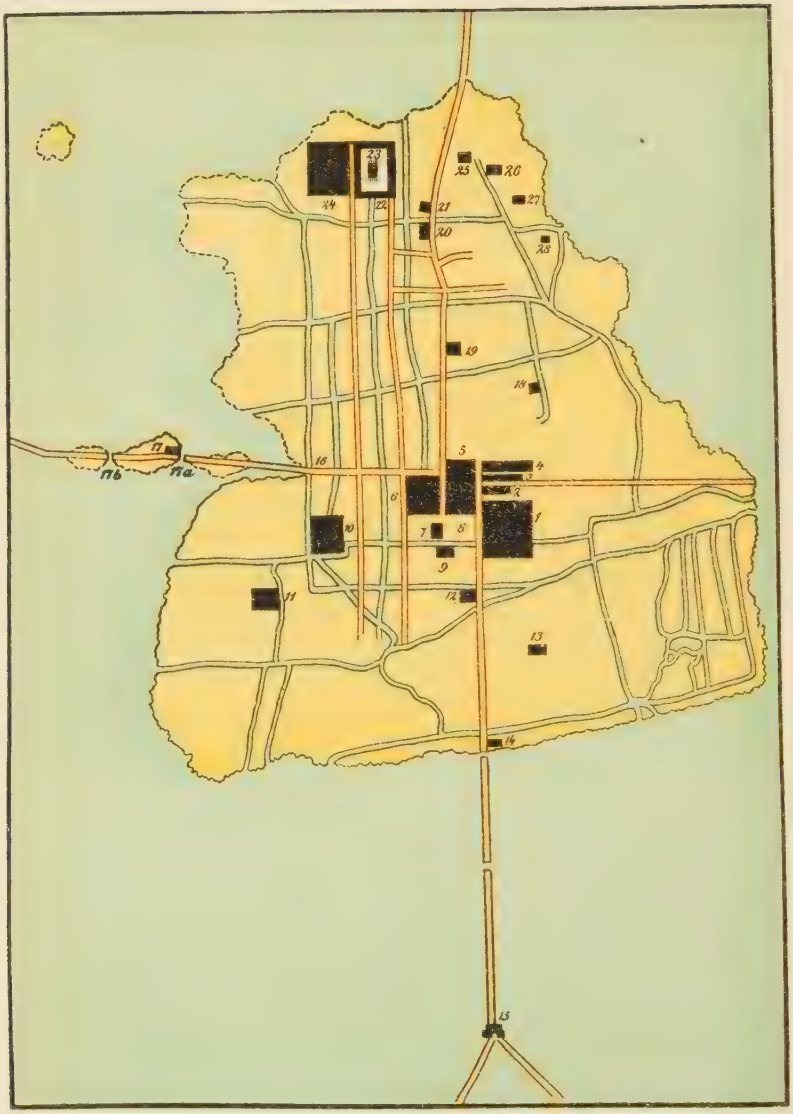



Plan of Tenochtitlan (City of Mexico), as it was in the time of Montezuma. *After a restoration by Orozco y Berra.*

## CHAPTER IV

### *CORTES AFTER THE CONQUEST*

THE capture of the capital of the Aztecs was celebrated with great revelry by the conquerors, and then religious services were held, and Father Olmeda spoke of the blessings of Providence and begged the Spaniards to treat the natives with humanity. The joy of the invaders, however, was considerably diminished when they found how small was the treasure which had fallen in their possession. After deducting the royal fifth an insignificant sum was left for each man, and Cortés was accused of having defrauded his companions. Cuauhtemoctzin, it was thought by some, could reveal the place where the treasure was hidden, and as he declared that there was no revelation to make, Cortés yielded to the clamor of his men and ordered the Emperor to be put to the torture. Cuauhtemoctzin displayed the greatest fortitude and told Tetlepanquetzal, the cacique of Tacuba, who uttered groans of pain: "Am I having any pleasure, or a bath?" [*¿ Estoy yo en algun deleite, ó baño?*] These words have been translated into the well-known saying: "Am I then on a bed of roses?"

The Aztec prince under torture said that some gold had been thrown into the water. The lake, however, was searched in vain, and the great treasure of Montezuma and of his predecessors remained unfound, like that of Captain Kidd on the Atlantic Coast, and of Jean Lafitte in the blue waters of Barataria Bay in Louisiana.

After the capture of Mexico the question was agitated whether the capital would be rebuilt at the same place or in some other town of the Valley, and Cortés resolved to retain the site of Tenochtitlán. He set to work immediately to rebuild the city and used a multitude of Indians for that purpose. He restored the aqueduct of the Aztecs, filled up most of the canals and constructed two additional causeways. He built his own house on the site of Montezuma's palace or *tecpan,* and where had stood the great *teocalli* a Christian church was built somewhat later. The Indians settled in districts assigned to them in the new city, but they were never to be supreme again in their own country.

In the meantime Cortés had been greatly embarrassed by the machinations of his enemy Velasquez, governor of Cuba, who had obtained assurance from Cardinal Adrian, Regent of Spain, and from Bishop Fonseca, the head of the colonial office, that a person should be sent to New Spain to take command there and to investigate the conduct of Cortés. Accordingly Cristóbal de Tapia was sent from Hispaniola and arrived in December, 1521, at Villa Rica. He was a weak and avaricious man, and the general succeeded in thwarting his efforts in exercising any control in the country, and he shortly re-embarked for Cuba. Cortés sent out also from New Spain at that time his former adversary Narvaez, who had been kept a prisoner at Vera Cruz since his defeat.

On May 15, 1522, Cortés wrote from Coyohuacán his third letter to the Emperor Charles V, in which he related the final capture of Mexico. He sent also to Spain the royal fifth of the treasure of the Aztecs and intrusted to two of his officers, Quiñones and Avila, the task of presenting his letter to his sovereign and pleading his cause with Charles V. Quiñones was killed at the Azores and Avila was captured by a French privateer with the greater part of the Aztec treasure, and Francis I had the great satisfaction of despoiling his powerful rival of the riches amassed for him in the New World. The King of France is said to have exclaimed then that he should like "to see the clause in Adam's testament

which entitled his brothers of Castile and Portugal to divide the New World between them."

Cortés was bitterly attacked in Spain by the friends of Velasquez, among whom was Fonseca himself, but was well defended by the Duke de Bejar and by his own father, Don Martin Cortés. Cardinal Adrian became Pope, and Charles V finally decided the case in favor of the conqueror. He confirmed his acts, recompensed his officers and soldiers, acknowledged their services, and made their commander Governor, Captain General, and Chief Justice of New Spain.

The Conqueror was as wise after his final triumph as he had been bold and skillful during the contest. He rebuilt Mexico, as we have said, on a grand plan, repeopled it and made the important settlements of Zacatula on the Pacific, Coliman in the province of Michoacan, San Estevan on the Atlantic, Medellin, and Antigua which he intended to take the place of Villa Rica as the great port of the country. He made also interesting regulations to induce women to reside in the country. "By a singular provision," says Prescott, "he required every settler, if a married man, to bring over his wife within eighteen months, on pain of forfeiting his estate. If he were too poor to do so himself, the government would assist him. Another law imposed the same penalty on all bachelors who did not provide themselves with wives within the same period. The general seems to have considered celibacy as too great a luxury for a young country." His own wife, Catalina Xuárez, came over to meet him but died three months after her arrival in New Spain. He has been accused of having murdered her, as she was ill suited to his present exalted position, and although this opinion has been adopted by such a reliable historian as Señor Perez Verdía, it is not based on sufficient authority to charge Cortés with such a crime.

The Governor, in distributing the soil among the Spanish colonists, adopted the system of *repartimientos* and reduced the Indians to slavery, the Tlascalans excepted. The Emperor, in his instructions to Cortés, disavowed the act, but

the latter, in a private letter, dated October 15, 1524, sent with his fourth Relation, said that he had not made the sovereign's instructions public, for the reason that the Spaniards needed absolutely the labor of the Indians, and that the lot of the latter was infinitely less hard now than during the rule of the Aztecs, when thousands of them were sacrificed to the native gods. He added that he had made regulations to protect the natives from the tyranny of their masters, and indeed the number of pure Indians living in modern Mexico proves that they were not treated by the conquerors and their descendants with sufficient harshness to destroy the race. Missionaries attended to their spiritual welfare, and they were early converted to Christianity.

Under the enlightened administration of the Governor, wheat, the sugar cane, the peach, the almond, the orange, the vine, and the olive were introduced in New Spain and flourished there.

Not content with the land of Anáhuac Cortés wished to extend his sovereign's domains in the New World and to find a strait which might connect the waters of the two oceans. Alvarado was sent south by land, and after desperate fighting conquered Guatemala, the country of the Quichés and Cakchiquels. An expedition under Francisco de Montejo was undertaken for the conquest of Yucatan, which was accomplished finally, many years later, by Montejo's son. Garay, governor of Jamaica, was frustrated in an attempt to take possession of Panuco, north of Villa Rica, and died in Mexico. But the most dramatic of these great enterprises was that of Cristóbal de Olid, who was sent with five ships and four hundred soldiers to conquer the provinces called *las Hibueras,* the modern Honduras.

On his way to his destination Olid stopped in Cuba, and the partisans of Velasquez induced him to establish for himself in Honduras an independent jurisdiction. Cortés heard of his lieutenant's defection and sent Francisco de las Casas to arrest him. Las Casas set sail from Vera Cruz, but was wrecked on the coast of Honduras and was made a prisoner

by Olid, as well as Gonzalez de Avila who was also exploring the country. An insurrection broke out, however, at Naco against Olid, and that captain who had played such a conspicuous part in the conquest of Anáhuac, was beheaded in the market place. His chief, in Mexico, had been informed of the shipwreck of Las Casas, but not of the death of Olid. He resolved, thereupon, to go himself to punish the rebel. He set out, on October 12, 1524, with a force of about one hundred horse and fifty foot, and three thousand Indian auxiliaries, taking with him Cuauhtemoctzin and the former rulers of Acolhuacán and Ttlacopan, whom he dared not leave behind in Mexico. He had also a retinue of pages, musicians, dancers, and buffoons, whom we would hardly have expected to see in an army led by the great Conqueror.

The expedition reached Coatzacoalco, then passed through the Tabasco country and arrived at the village of Iztapán. Then they reached Izancanac, after having overcome difficulties of all kinds on the march from Tabasco, passing without guides through morasses and almost impenetrable forests, and fording or bridging innumerable rivers. At Izancanac one of the Indian converts informed Cortés of a plot made by Cuauhtemoctzin and the other Aztec nobles to murder the Spaniards and take possession of the settlements in Honduras. Cuauhtemoctzin denied the charge, but the general ordered him and the former chiefs of Acolhuacán and Ttlacopan to be immediately executed, and they were hanged on February 25, 1525, from the branches of a tall tree. The last Emperor or Chief-of-Men of the Aztecs is a sympathetic personage in the history of Mexico, and his torture after the fall of Tenochtitlán and his execution as a common criminal are a blot on the fame of his Conqueror. His existence was certainly a danger to the supremacy of the Spaniards in his former realm, but fear of an enemy never justifies his murder. Bernal Diaz, the chronicler of these events, who was one of Cortés's lieutenants and was present when Cuauhtemoctzin was hanged, says of the execution that "it was most unjust and was thought wrong by all of us."

Among the attendants of the general, on his expedition to Honduras, was the faithful Marina. She met her mother in the province of Coatzacoalco and forgave her unnatural conduct towards her, many years before. In spite of her devotion to Cortés and of the great services she had rendered him, the Conqueror gave her away to Don Juan Xaramillo, a Spanish knight, whom she married. She received grants of land from the government and lived in wealth for a number of years after the conquest. The name of Malinche, as the Indians called her, has remained popular in Mexican history, and has been surrounded with a halo of romance.

After many hardships the Spaniards reached Naco, in Honduras, and heard of the death of Olid, for whose subjection the expedition had been undertaken. Cortés was preparing to explore Nicaragua when bad news reached him from Mexico. The functionaries to whom he had entrusted the administration of the country quarrelled among themselves, and two of them, Chirino and Salazar, made themselves masters of the government. They credited eagerly the tidings that the governor had died on his march to Honduras, had funeral honors rendered him and decreed that twenty-five lashes be given to any one who would manifest any incredulity about the death of Cortés. They persecuted the partisans of the latter and committed all kinds of excesses. Suazo, who had been one of the functionaries appointed by the governor, was exiled to Cuba, and from there informed him of what was taking place in Mexico. Cortés embarked immediately to return to his government, but was driven back to land by a terrible tempest. A second attempt was not more successful, and the general, thinking that Providence had declared against his leaving Honduras at the present time, sent messengers to Mexico. He instituted public prayers and processions and became deeply despondent. After some time he again received advices from his friends urging him to return, and he finally embarked on April 25, 1526. He was driven to Cuba by a tempest and landed at Vera Cruz on May 24. He proceeded at once to Mexico and entered that city in

June amid great rejoicing, after an absence of nearly two years on an expedition which had been highly dramatic but had not led to important results.

In the mean time the enemies of the governor in Spain had accused him of all kinds of misdeeds and especially of a plot to make himself an independent sovereign. The Emperor ordered that an investigation be made of these charges and appointed Luis Ponce de León *juez de residencia.* He was to conduct the investigation and pending it to assume the office of governor. Ponce arrived in Mexico in July, 1526, but died after a few weeks. He had named as his successor Marcos de Aguilar who died also shortly, and finally Alonso de Estrada was appointed governor by the Emperor, Cortés remaining captain general. Estrada showed great hostility to the Conqueror, and the latter resolved to return to Spain to ask for a recognition of his services. He took with him Sandoval and Tapia, a son of Montezuma and one of Maxixca, several Indian chiefs, and jugglers, dancers and buffoons. He collected specimens of birds, animals and plants, and brought with him gold, fabrics, and beautiful jewels. He sailed from Villa Rica, where he received tidings of the death of his father, Don Martin Cortés.

The great Conqueror landed in May, 1528, at Palos, where the great Discoverer had also landed after his memorable voyage to the New World. He went to the convent of La Rabida, made celebrated by the stay of Columbus in 1492, and met there Francisco Pizarro, the Conqueror of Peru. At La Rabida Gonzalo de Sandoval, one of the most illustrious of the companions of Cortés, died of sickness. He was only thirty-one years old. After performing the obsequies of his friend the general proceeded on his journey. He was hospitably received at his castle by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, remained a few days at Guadalupe, and on approaching Toledo, where was the Emperor, was met by the Duke de Bejar and the Count de Aguilar, and a large body of noblemen. His arrival in Spain excited the greatest interest, and he was received by his sovereign with marked distinction.

The Emperor paid him a visit when he was ill, and on July 6, 1529, made him Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca *(Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca)*. He also assigned to him a large tract of land in the province of Oaxaca and vast estates in the city of Mexico and elsewhere in the Valley. Charles V, however, did not reinstate him in the government of Mexico, but named him Captain General of New Spain with power to make discoveries and settlements in the Southern Ocean. Thus honored by his royal master Cortés sued for the hand of a young, beautiful and noble lady, and obtained it. She was Doña Juana de Zuñiga, daughter of the Count de Aguilar and niece of the Duke de Bejar, both of royal blood. He presented her with five magnificent stones admirably cut, supposed to be emeralds at the time but since classed as jade or serpentine, and taken from the treasure of the Aztecs, a gift worthy of a queen, and in 1530 he embarked with his wife and his mother for the country which he had conquered and named New Spain.

On December 13, 1527, Charles V appointed a Commission of Audience *(audiencia)* to govern his new Mexican possessions. It was composed of a President, Nuño Beltrán de Guzman, governor of the province of Panuco, and four members *(oidores)*. From the very beginning of their administration the Audience proved to be tyrannical and grasping. They conducted with rancor an investigation of charges against Cortés, enslaved and oppressed many Indians, and committed all kinds of misdeeds. The ecclesiastical authorities were threatened for trying to defend the natives, and they were impeded from communicating with the Court. In 1519 the bishopric of *Santa María de los Remedios de Yucatan* had been established; in 1526, that of Ttlascala, and, in 1527, that of Mexico. Fray Juan de Zumarraga, a Franciscan monk, was the first Bishop of Mexico. He succeeded, in 1529, in sending a letter to Spain, in which he related the tyrannical conduct of the Audience. The President, Guzman, to cover his iniquities, resolved to conquer the province of Jalisco or Amazonas, which had been discovered during the

administration of Cortés, and which was named later New Galicia. Guzman left Mexico on his expedition toward the Pacific Ocean on December 20, 1529, and after severe fighting defeated the natives and founded the cities of Guadalajara and Compostela. In his absence his colleagues of the Audience continued their depredations, but thanks to the remonstrances of the ecclesiastical authorities, it was decided to substitute for them the government of a viceroy. As the latter, Antonio de Mendoza, could not go to Mexico immediately, a new Audience was appointed to govern in the interim.

Cortés, meanwhile, had arrived in Hispaniola, where he remained until he heard of the appointment of a new Audience. He landed finally at Villa Rica, on July 15, 1530, was joyously received, and took up his residence at Tezcuco, as he had been forbidden from approaching within ten miles of Mexico until the arrival of the new government. On the coming of the latter the Conqueror went to the capital, but after some conflict of authority with the President, Fuenleal, Bishop of Santo Domingo, and the members of the Audience, Cortés retired forever from the city and went to reside in the city of Cuernavaca, and gave himself up for some time to the management and improvement of his vast estates. In 1527 he had sent vessels from Tehuantepec to the Moluccas. In 1532 and 1533 he sent expeditions which, although impeded by the ill will of the Audiences, succeeded in discovering Lower California. The Captain-General then set out in person on his voyage of discovery and established a short-lived colony on the eastern shore of the California peninsula. He met with reverses in all his expeditions but made some important discoveries. He sent out another expedition in 1539 under Francisco de Ulloa, who penetrated to the 28th or 29th degree of north latitude on the western coast of the California peninsula, and he was preparing to fit out another squadron, when Mendoza, the new viceroy, claimed the right of discovery in the Southern or Pacific Ocean. Cortés determined then to go to Spain to plead his cause with the

Emperor. He left New Spain with his young son, Martin, in January, 1540, never to return.

The Conqueror was received with great respect in his native country, but obtained little recognition of his claims. In 1541 he joined the expedition prepared by the Emperor against the corsairs of Algiers, but the Admiral's ship in which were he and his son was wrecked, and they escaped to the shore by swimming, Cortés losing on that occasion the famous "emeralds" mentioned above, which he always carried on his person. During the siege of Algiers he was not called to a council of war which decided to raise the siege and abandon the enterprise. The great captain was in favor of an immediate attack and said that he would soon reduce the place if he had with him only a handful of his veterans from New Spain. He was derisively told that he would find the Moors quite a different foe from his naked savages.

On his return from the unsuccessful campaign against the Moors Cortés laid his suit before the Emperor, but obtained no satisfaction. On February 3, 1544, he addressed his last letter to his sovereign. It was a dignified appeal for a settlement of his affairs. He had no success, and Charles V is said to have refused to see him. Voltaire even relates an unfounded and incredible story, that the Conqueror, unable to obtain an audience, forced his way to the carriage of the Emperor and mounted the steps. Charles asked: "Who is this man?" and Cortés replied: "One who has given you more kingdoms than you had cities before."

For three long years did the Conqueror urge his suit uselessly, until, in the latter part of 1547, he resolved to return to New Spain. The permission to depart, which had thus far been refused, was finally granted, and he set out on his journey. He proceeded to Seville, where honors were rendered him, but he fell ill in that city, and having been conveyed to the village of Castillejo de la Cuesta, he died on December 2, 1547, in his sixty-third year. His remains were deposited with solemnity in the monastery of San Isidro near Seville, in the family vault of the Duke of Medina

Sidonia. They were removed in 1562, by order of his son, to the monastery of Saint Francis, in Tezcuco, where they rested until the year 1629, when, on the death of Pedro Cortés, fourth Marqués del Valle, they were transferred with great pomp to the church of Saint Francis, in Mexico. In 1794 the bones of the Conqueror were removed to the chapel of the hospital of Jesus of Nazareth, an institution which he had founded and endowed under the name of "Our Lady of the Conception." The remains were deposited in a crystal coffin secured by bars and plates of silver, and the sepulchre was surmounted by a monument adorned with the bust and the arms of Cortés, executed in bronze by the great sculptor Tolsa. In 1823, when the remains of the patriots of the movement for independence in 1810 were to be transported to the capital, a mob prepared to destroy the tomb of Cortés and scatter his ashes to the winds. The casket, however, was removed in time by permission of the government and placed under the platform of the altar of Jesus. This was done during the night of September 15, 1823. The story does not end here, for the bust and arms were removed from the monument to prevent them from being destroyed by the mob and sent to a descendant of the Conqueror, the Duke of Terranova, at Palermo, and it is believed that the relics of Cortés were also sent to his descendant and rest now in Europe. Their fate is as strange as that of the bones of Columbus.

By his second wife Cortés left a son, Martin, who was his heir and second Marqués del Valle, and three daughters: María, married to the Count de Luna; Catalina, who died single, and Juana, married to the Duke de Alcalá, Marquis de Tarifa. He had several natural children, of whom the best known is Martin, son of Marina.

"With Pedro Cortés, the fourth Marqués del Valle, and great-grandson of the Conqueror, the direct line became extinct," says Bancroft. "The estates and title passed to his niece, Doña Estefania, married to Diego de Aragon, Duke of Terranova, descendant of one of the most distinguished

families of Sicily. This union remaining without male issue, by the marriage of their daughter Juana with Hector, Duke of Monteleone, the line became united with the Piñatelli family, Neapolitan nobles of the first rank. Thus the descendants and present representatives of the great adventurer's family are the dukes of Terranova y Monteleone, in Sicily, one of the proudest families of Italy."

Hernán Cortés was a remarkable man, and his work was great, in spite of his faults which were, to a great extent, those of his time and of that very peculiar class of men, the Spanish adventurers, explorers and conquerors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His conquest of Mexico brought to that land a higher civilization and prepared it for its destiny of being one of the great republics in the world.

The influence of the ecclesiastical authorities in Mexico was so great for many years that it is important to give an idea of the history of the church in that country. We have seen that in 1527, Fray Juan de Zumarraga had been appointed bishop. In 1545 the see of Mexico was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric, and Bishop Zumarraga was appointed to that position. He did not live, however, to be installed, and the first archbishop was really Alonso de Montufar. Many missionaries came from the Spanish dominions to the former land of the Aztecs, and among the first was Fray Pedro Gante (Peter of Ghent in Flanders), who established himself with five of his companions at Tezcuco. In 1524 came twelve Franciscans, called the "twelve Apostles of Mexico," among whom was Fray Martin de Valencia, who is known as the "Father of the Mexican church." On their arrival Pedro Gante followed them to the capital which they divided into four parishes corresponding to the former sections of the city during the rule of the natives. The Franciscans founded also monasteries at Huexotzinco, Tezcuco, and Ttlascala, and by 1565 provinces were erected in Yucatan, Guatemala, and Michoacan, and in 1606 in Jalisco and Zacatecas. In 1530 one of the Franciscans, Fray Torribio Benevente, called by the Indians Motolinia, "the poor

and miserable," founded the city of "La Puebla de los Angeles," as a resting place for travellers between Vera Cruz and Mexico.

In 1532 the shrine of "Our Lady of Guadalupe"—*Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*—was established, and the event which gave rise to its foundation is narrated as follows:

On Saturday, December 9, 1531, an Indian of Quauhtitlan, whose native name was Quauhtlatehua, but who had been christened Juan Diego, was on his way to Ttlatelolco to hear mass. He was passing Tepeyacac, a sterile hill about a league from the city, on which had stood a Mexican *teocalli,* when he heard delightful music and saw standing upon the barren mount a beautiful lady in a halo of light. She told him that she was the Virgin Mary, and that she wished that a church be built on the spot where she stood and she bade him inform Bishop Zumarraga of her commands. Juan Diego did so, but the Bishop paid no attention to him until the next day, when the Indian, having seen the apparition once more, had returned again with his message to the Bishop. The latter asked him then to obtain a sign by which he might recognize the command of the Virgin, and Juan Diego reported to the lady the words of Zumarraga. The apparition told him to come the next day and he would be given the sign, but, on account of the serious illness of his uncle Bernardino, he did not keep his appointment. On December 12 he was sent for a priest for his dying uncle, and fearing to pass by the hill of Tepeyacac he took another path leading to Ttlatelolco. He perceived, however, the Virgin who came to him, told him that his uncle was well and bade him gather flowers on the top of the hill and carry them to her in his mantle or *serape.* Juan Diego obeyed and found beautiful flowers on the rock which had thus far been barren, and brought them to the resplendent lady. She took them in her hand, gave them back to the Indian and ordered him to carry them to Bishop Zumarraga. On unfolding his mantle the roses were displayed, and a beautiful image of the Virgin appeared upon the *serape.* The Bishop took the mantle

reverently, and the next day visited the spot where the apparition had taken place. It was found that Juan Diego's uncle had been cured at the hour mentioned by the Virgin, who had appeared to him also. The sacred mantle was placed on the altar of the cathedral at Mexico until a shrine was built for it in 1532 on the site of the apparition. A magnificent church now stands at that place and contains the miraculous painting on the *serape,* which is described as follows by H. H. Bancroft: "In regard to the painting itself, we find the Virgin represented as standing with the right foot on a crescent moon, supported by a cherub with wings outspread, and hands clasped upon her breast. A rose-colored tunic richly embroidered with gold covers her form, and a girdle of velvet clasps her waist. The mantle, decorated with stars, partially covers the head on which rests a crown with ten points, or rays. . . . The figure is surrounded by an aureola encompassed by a luminous-edged cloud."

We have given details of the apparition to Juan Diego, as the event is of great importance in the history of Mexico. It contributed very much to bring about the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, and "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe" was declared, in 1754, the Patroness and Protectress of New Spain. She was taken by the Mexicans as their champion in their war for independence while "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios" was the champion of the Spaniards. Upon the establishment of the Republic, in 1824, for which the priests Hidalgo and Morelos had fallen martyrs, the 12th of December was made a national holiday. On that day beautiful and fragrant flowers had sprung from a barren rock, and a glorious and divine figure had been imprinted on a humble mantle, admirable emblem of the rise of liberty and independence in the land of Aztec barbarism and Spanish despotism.

## CHAPTER V

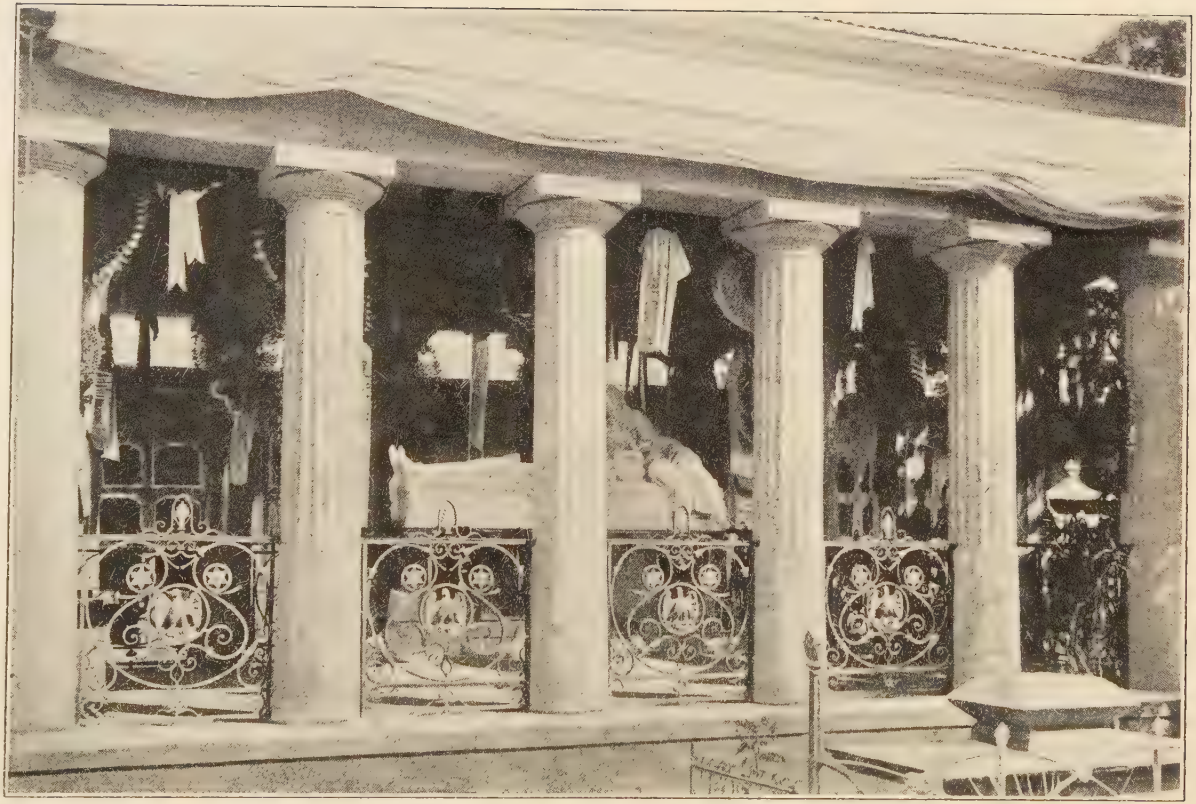
### *NEW SPAIN UNDER THE VICEROYS*

WHILE relating the events of the later part of the career of Cortés we mentioned the arrival, on October 15, 1535, of the first viceroy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Conde de Tendilla, a man of honor and ability, whose rule for many years was beneficent and wise. He established the first printing press in the New World, from which was printed in 1537 *La Escala de San Juan Climaco,* translated from Latin by Fray Juan de Madalena. He founded a mint for the production of silver coins, as the natives had disliked so much the copper coins that they had thrown about two hundred thousand pesos of them into the lake. He founded also a college for Indian nobles at Ttlatelolco, and sent an expedition under Vasquez de Coronado to the fabled kingdom of *Quivira* in the northeast. He caused Nuño de Guzman, the cruel and rapacious president of the First Audience, to be incarcerated in the common prison at the capital, after he had been arrested at Panuco by Perez de la Torre. Guzman died in 1544 in Spain in the greatest poverty. He had founded in New Galicia the town of Guadalajara, which was moved in 1541 to its present site by orders of the viceroy. In the same year Mendoza founded the city of Valladolid which, in 1828, was named Morelia after the patriotic curate Morelos.

After the fall of Nuño de Guzman his successor Perez de la Torre governed New Galicia with prudence and skill.

Unfortunately, after having suppressed an insurrection of the Indians, he was killed by a fall from his horse. He had appointed Cristóbal de Oñate to succeed him, but the viceroy named instead Coronado provisional governor. The latter departed in February, 1540, on his celebrated expedition to the Eldorado of the North, the seven cities of Cibola, of which the Indians had made to Cabeza de Vaca such a wonderful description. We shall narrate later the explorations of Coronado in the present territory of New Mexico, and shall now return to New Galicia, of which Oñate was governor during the absence of Coronado.

In 1541 the Indians rose against the Spaniards and defeated, in the mountain fastness of Mixton, the force which Oñate had sent against them under Miguel de Ibarra. The governor then appealed to the viceroy for aid, as it was thought that the natives intended to attack the town of Guadalajara. At that time he received unexpectedly the assistance of Pedro de Alvarado, the celebrated companion of Cortés in the conquest of Mexico. After the fall of Tenochtitlán Alvarado had gone to Guatemala, had subdued that province and had become *Adelantado* there. Like Cortés, his great chief, he had wished to extend his conquests to new lands and had prepared a formidable fleet in Guatemala for discoveries in the South Sea. On his way north he stopped in the port of Navidad and was asked to come to the help of the Spaniards in New Galicia in their war with the Indians. The brave captain readily consented to do so, and after a brief interview in Michoacan with Mendoza, whom he accompanied to Mexico, he returned to Zapotlan, where he had left his forces, and proceeded to the aid of Oñate. He sent detachments to protect a few important places in the province and he himself marched to Guadalajara which was threatened by the Indians. Oñate set out to meet him and advised him to wait for reinforcements from the viceroy before attacking the Indians. Alvarado, however, rejected with scorn the governor's prudent counsel, and said that it was a shame that "four cats should have made such a noise in the



Tomb of Benito Pablo Juarez, President of Mexico, 1859–1872.

*In the cemetery of San Fernando, City of Mexico. Designed by the brothers Isla.*

mountains that they were disturbing two provinces." He added that he had enough men to subdue the Indians and would not wait for more. He even refused the aid of Oñate, and atacked the Indians, who were on the hill or *peñon* of Nochictlán. The point was protected by seven walls of stone and was defended by thousands of Indians, while Alvarado had under his command only one hundred foot soldiers and one hundred horse. The Spaniards displayed the greatest valor but were repulsed and routed. Alvarado endeavored in vain to rally his men and to check their flight. He remained in the rear to protect the retreat, and was preceded by his secretary, Baltasar de Montoya, who spurred his horse up a broken embankment in his desire to fly faster from the enemy. The horse fell, and Montoya and Alvarado were thrown into a ravine. The secretary was not seriously hurt, and a historian said of him: "The clumsy coward lived to the age of one hundred and five years." Alvarado, however, was crushed in the fall and died at Guadalajara, on July 4, 1541. The career of the brilliant Tonatiuh came to an untimely end by a stupid accident. The fate of most of the conquerors of the New World was sad and tragic.

After the death of Alvarado Governor Oñate succeeded in resisting an attack of the Indians on Guadalajara, and the insurrection was finally subdued by viceroy Mendoza who came in person to the aid of Oñate. The Mixton war, in New Galicia, is noted in Mexican history by the death of the valiant *conquistador,* Pedro de Alvarado.

Principally through the exertions of the devoted friend of the Indians, Bartolomé de las Casas, the Emperor Charles V issued in 1542 a code of laws, known as the *New Laws,* referring principally to the treatment and enslavement of the natives. None could be enslaved under any pretext whatever, and the slaves should be set free unless the owners could prove a legal title. There were many other clauses relating to the betterment of the Indians, and Francisco Tello Sandoval was appointed *visitador* to introduce the *New Laws* in New Spain. He arrived in March, 1544, but

he and the viceroy declared the new *régime* impracticable, and the good intentions of the Spanish sovereign were frustrated, in spite of the efforts of Las Casas, who had been appointed Bishop of Chiapas and who resided three years in New Spain. This was the last sojourn in the New World of the noble protector of the Indians. He returned to Spain in 1547 and died in the Dominican monastery of Atocha in Madrid in 1566, aged ninety-two.

In 1545 a terrible epidemic broke out among the natives, of whom eight hundred thousand are said to have perished. The viceroy attended to the sick with such solicitude that he was called the "Father of the Poor." During his administration the city of Mexico displayed such loyalty to the crown, at the time of the insurrection of Pizarro in Peru, that the Emperor gave to the former Tenochtitlán of Montezuma the title of *muy noble, insigne y leal.* So well pleased was the sovereign with the services of Mendoza in New Spain that he wished to send him to Peru to govern that country, which had been constantly in turmoil. The viceroy left Mexico in 1551 and died in Lima in 1552. His administration in New Spain had been enlightened and progressive.

The second viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, reached Mexico in November, 1551. He is known as "the Emancipator", as he enforced the *New Laws,* to a certain extent, and liberated from servitude in the mines one hundred and sixty thousand Mexicans, saying "that the freedom of the Indians was more important than all the mines in the world, and that the revenues derived therefrom by the crown were not of such a nature as to defy the laws of God and of man." Velasco established in New Spain the Spanish "Santa Hermandad" so often mentioned later in *Don Quijote,* as a protection against the bandits who infested the country. In 1553 the University of Mexico was founded. It had been created by an ordinance of Charles V, dated September 21, 1551. In the year of the auspicious event of the inauguration of the University there happened a terrible inundation caused by excessive rains, and the city was under water for

three or four days. The inundation was the first since the conquest, and the Spaniards were greatly frightened. The viceroy, therefore, decided to surround the city with a dike. He called the people to the work and gave the example by working himself. The dike was completed in a few days, chiefly by the labor of about six thousand Indians, who received, says a modern Mexican historian, no remuneration whatever.

At Brussels, on January 16, 1556, the Emperor Charles V abdicated all his crowns and retired to the monastery of Yuste, where he died on September 21, 1558. Born at Ghent in 1500, he had played a great part in the history of the world. Son of *Juana la Loca,* and grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, he had inherited their immense possessions in Spain, in Italy, and in the New World. From his father, Philip the Fair, he had inherited Flanders and the rest of the yet splendid domain which Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, had carried to her husband, Maximilian of Austria; and on the death of the latter in 1521 he had come into possession of the hereditary domain of the house of Austria, and had been elected Emperor of Germany. He had been the rival of Henry VIII of England, and of the chivalric King of France, Francis I, and had held him a prisoner in Madrid; his renegade general, the former constable of Bourbon, had taken Rome from the Pope and sacked it; he had defended the Christian world from the Moslems; he had seen Luther and the rise of Protestantism in Germany; he had been the most powerful monarch of his age, and still it is doubtful whether his reign was not a failure, whether he was strong enough to perform the task allotted to him by Providence. He defeated Francis in battle, but yet he could not take from him an inch of French soil; he opposed Luther's doctrines, but yet could not prevent the spread of the Protestant ideas; he found some liberty in his Spanish Kingdoms, and he suppressed it. He was energetic and able but despotic, and his rule was not beneficent to Castile, León and Aragon. Too often were the resources

of Spain and the gold of Mexico and Peru wasted to further the ambitious projects of the Emperor of Germany and of the King of Naples. It would have been better for Spain had not her King been often the arbiter of Europe; but, after all, he gave her glory, and the name of *Carlos Quinto* is one which the Spaniard of to-day mentions with the greatest pride.

Philip II was essentially Spanish, and yet his reign was more disastrous in its results than that of his father. Like him he defeated the French and the Moslems, and like him he was despotic, but his gloomy disposition, his religious fanaticism, prepared the diminution of the power of his house and of his country. However, as sovereigns of the greater part of the New World, Charles and Philip did not rule unwisely, considering the spirit of their time, and New Spain, which is our theme, progressed considerably during their reigns.

In 1564 the viceroy, by order of the King, sent an expedition to settle the large group of islands which had been discovered some time before and named the Philippines. The commander, Legaspi, founded, on the Island of Luzon, the city of Manila, in whose harbor, in 1898, Admiral Dewey won the famous victory which ultimately made the Philippines pass from the power of Spain into that of the United States. In the year of the expedition of Legaspi, Viceroy Velasco died in Mexico, where he was interred with great honors. Like his predecessor, Mendoza, he had been a faithful and efficient administrator, although his authority had been somewhat diminished by the arrival in 1563 of the *visitador* Valderrama.

On the death of Velasco, and pending the arrival of a new viceroy, the Royal Audience took charge of the government. It was composed of Ceynos, Villanueva, and Orozco, to whose lot it fell to oppose the sons of Cortés and to humble their pride. This is a curious and interesting incident in the history of Mexico, which began with the return of Martin Cortés to the land of his birth, the country conquered from the Aztecs for Charles V by the great Conqueror.

We have seen that, when Hernán Cortés returned for the last time to Spain to lay his grievances before his sovereign, he took with him his son Martin, who was then eight years of age, and who became, at the death of his father, the heir to his estates and title. The second Marqués del Valle was educated in Spain and was a man of honor, of culture, and courage. He fought bravely at the battle of St. Quentin, where Philip's general, Philibert Emanuel of Savoy, defeated disastrously a French army commanded by the Constable Montmorency. The son of Cortés was in such high favor with his King that he accompanied the latter when he went to England to contract his ill assorted marriage with Mary Tudor, and later Philip II confirmed and renewed the grant of the twenty-three thousand vassals made to Cortés by Charles V, and decreed that all the inhabitants on the lands conceded, whatever be their number, should be the vassals of the marquis. The son of Cortés derived from his Mexican possessions an income of 150,000 pesos. He resolved to return to New Spain to enjoy his fortune and the honors due his name and his rank, and leaving his eldest son at Seville he embarked for the New World with his family and his two brothers, Martin, son of Marina, and Luis, son of Antonia Hermosilla. The marquis was at that time thirty years old and was married to Doña Ana Ramirez de Avellano. He arrived at the city of Mexico in 1563 and was received with splendor as being the most important personage in the country after the viceroy.

Don Martin Cortés displayed great pomp in Mexico city, which was no longer inhabited by semi-barbarians, but was a place where all pleasures and luxuries could be enjoyed. The Marqués del Valle displeased the viceroy by the exaggerated splendor of his establishment and the marks of respect he expected from all whom he met in the streets. He even had a silver seal made for himself with the words: *"Martinus Cortesus primus hujus nominis Dux marchio secundus."* Velasco died before any disturbance took place, but during the rule of the Audience, some of the friends of

Martin Cortés acted in an indiscreet manner. They had been displeased by a decree of the King that the encomiendas should not be transmissible to the third generation, and they are said to have formed a conspiracy to kill the *oidores* or members of the Audience, and to establish a government independent from Spain, with the Marqués del Valle as ruler. At an entertainment, given at the latter's house in Mexico, Alonso de Avila appeared at the head of a cavalcade of twenty-four men dressed as Indians and with masks representing important Aztec chiefs. They dismounted and entered the house of the marquis, where was a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen in a room transformed into a hall of an Aztec prince. Avila personated Montezuma, and advancing toward the marquis who played the part of his father, he placed in his hands and in those of the marchioness Aztec crowns of feathers, and begged them to accept them. The whole proceeding was imprudent to the extreme, but as the Visitador Valderrama was present at the house of the marquis, there is no doubt that the son of Cortés merely wished to honor his father's memory by re-enacting an historical scene which was carried out indiscreetly by his friends. Some time later, in 1566, at the christening of his twin sons, Martin Cortés displayed almost regal magnificence, and the *oidores,* after the departure of Valderrama, began to suspect his loyalty.

One of the supposed conspirators is said to have betrayed his friends and to have implicated the marquis in the plot. The Audience now resolved to arrest Martin Cortés. However, fearing his popularity and his power, they resorted to an unworthy subterfuge. They invited him to attend, in the council chamber, the opening of important dispatches from Spain, and after all the persons present were seated, Ceynos, the President of the Audience, told Cortés that he should hold himself in arrest by the King, and upon the marquis asking the reason, Ceynos answered: "As a traitor to the King." Cortés replied with indignation: *"Mentis, que yo no soi traidor á mi Rei, ni los ha avido en mi linaje"*—

"You lie, I am not a traitor, and there have never been any in my family." He seized his sword to defend himself but surrendered, on being surrounded by armed guards, and was imprisoned in the royal buildings. His brothers, Martin and Luis, were arrested, as well as many of his friends, and Alonso and Gil Gonzalez de Avila were beheaded a few days later.

While the investigation of the plot was progressing the new viceroy, Gaston de Peralta, Marqués de Falces, arrived. He was just and moderate, and, not finding that the conspiracy had been proved, he ordered all proceedings stopped, and commuted the sentence of Luis Cortés, who had been condemned to death, to loss of property and ten years' service in the north of Africa at his own cost. The viceroy released nearly all the other prisoners and sent the Marqués del Valle to Spain. Incensed at the moderation of Falces the *oidores* accused him of favoring the plot and sent damaging reports about him to the King. Philip, thereupon, appointed a tribunal, composed of Jarava, Alonso Muñoz, and Luis Carrillo, with full powers to investigate the condition of affairs and supersede the viceroy. Jarava died on the voyage, and Muñoz, assuming the authority which his colleague Carrillo did not dispute, prosecuted all the persons suspected of treason and caused to be executed four of them, among whom was Cristóbal de Oñate, son of the valiant governor of New Galicia at the time of Alvarado's death.

Martin Cortés, the son of Marina, was put to the torture and condemned to exile and to pay a fine, and so many persons were arrested that the ordinary jails, not being numerous enough, Muñoz had dreadful dungeons constructed, which bore his name and were filled with victims. He deposed the viceroy and acted with such despotism and cruelty that the King, on being informed of his conduct, despatched to New Spain two of the former *oidores,* Puga and Villanueva, with orders to depose Muñoz and Carrillo and send them back to Spain. This was done in 1568, to the great joy of the colonists. Carrillo died at sea, and Muñoz was so

badly received by the King that he is said to have died of chagrin. Viceroy Falces was exonerated of all blame.

The so-called conspiracy of Martin Cortés, and the tragic incidents to which it gave rise, were a fit subject for romance and inspired many Mexican writers who related it in prose and in verse. The marquis was acquitted, after a long trial, and his property, which had been confiscated, was restored to him in 1574, but with great loss to the owner. He died in 1589, without having returned to New Spain. His son Fernando, the third marquis, remained in Spain, but his brother and successor, Pedro, the fourth and last marquis, went to Mexico and died there in 1629. His heir was his niece, Estefania Cortés, who married the Duke of Terranova y Monteleone. Part of the estates of the Conqueror have remained in the possession of his descendants to this day, after many sequestrations and restorations. Martin Cortés, son of Marina, did not leave New Spain, as sentenced by Muñoz, and died there in obscurity. His brother Luis returned to Mexico after the acquittal of the head of the family, but nothing is known of his later life. Indeed the descendants of the Conqueror played no important part in the history of Mexico, after the fall of the second Marqués del Valle. Hernán Cortés was the Charles V of his family, Martin, the Philip II, and Fernando and Pedro, the Third and Fourth Philips. The heirs of the great Emperor had not the monopoly of genius any more than those of the great Conqueror, and, as for the latter, he deserves far more credit for his great deeds than does Charles V. Cortés, by his courage and skill, conquered an Empire and added another crown to those which had come to Charles by inheritance and which he found too heavy for his brow.

After the departure of Muñoz and Falces the Audience governed for eight months with moderation, until the appointment of the viceroy, Martin Enriquez de Almanza, who signalized his arrival on the coast of New Spain, in 1568, by destroying part of the fleet of the English corsair, John Hawkins, and capturing many of his men who, later, were

very harshly treated in Mexico and in Spain. Hawkins had seized the island of Sacrificios, opposite San Juan de Ulua, and was attacked there by a Spanish fleet larger than his own. Among his captains was the celebrated Francis Drake who was, twenty years later, to destroy the Spanish Armada, which had been greatly shattered by a storm.

In 1571 the Spanish Inquisition was unfortunately established in New Spain, and the first chief inquisitor was Pedro Moya de Contreras, who became later Archbishop of Mexico and viceroy. In judging Philip II for the persecutions which he ordered in his European possessions as well as in the New World, "the student in quest of truth," says Mr. Henry Charles Lea, "may ask himself whether Philip is to be held morally responsible for the crimes he committed, whether he was the misguided agent of a false standard of duty, and conscientiously believed himself to be rendering the highest service to God and to man. If the latter be the case, we must acquit Philip of conscious guilt, and reserve our censure for the spirit of the age which misled him." Mr. Lea says that the enforcement of religious unity was the primary motive of his public career and the object of almost all the acts for which we are asked to condemn him. In his persecution of the persons whom he considered heretics he acted as his contemporaries generally did, and terrible examples of such religious fanaticism may be found unfortunately in the history of nearly all the countries of Europe in the sixteenth century: in Italy, France, England, Germany, and even in Geneva. Let us not endeavor to rehabilitate Philip, for surely no man would have committed the deeds of which history accuses him if he had had a noble heart and a grand soul, but let us take him as an example of the harm that may be done through religious intolerance, and let us hope that our age will see the total disappearance from modern civilization of the spirit of Philip's time. There is little left of that baneful spirit. Let us endeavor to dispel it forever. It is very much to be regretted that Enriquez de Almanza, the viceroy of New Spain in 1571, did not act as

Estevan Miró, governor of Spanish Louisiana, in 1788, who expelled from the province the commissary of the Inquisition and prevented the establishment in the colony of the dreaded tribunal.

In 1572 the Jesuits arrived in New Spain. Their first provincial was Father Pedro Sanchez, and their first college in the city of Mexico was named San Pedro y San Pablo. They attended both to the education of the Spanish Mexicans and to the conversion of the natives. Another important order established was that of La Caridad y San Hipólito, devoted wholly to charity.

In 1576 the terrible epidemic of *matlalzahualt* broke out and lasted nearly two years. As previously, the natives only were attacked, and they perished to the number of nearly two million.

Viceroy Enriquez de Almanza was appointed to the government of Peru in 1580, and was succeeded by Suarez de Mendoza, Count de la Coruña, an honorable old man, who died after three years, without having accomplished much. The Audience ruled for sixteen months, and in September, 1584, Archbishop and Inquisitor Moya de Contreras, became viceroy. He governed with zeal and firmness for a little over a year and was appointed President of the Council of the Indies. He was succeeded by Alvaro Manrique de Zuñiga, Marquis de Villa-Manrique, during whose administration, in 1587, a galleon from the Philippines, containing 122,000 pesos in gold and a valuable cargo of silks and other goods, was captured by the pirate Thomas Cavendish, who, at that time, circumnavigated the globe. Villa-Manrique had with the Audience of Guadalajara, in New Galicia, a quarrel which almost resulted in a combat, because the viceroy endeavored to enforce a royal decree which forbade government officials from marrying within their district without special permission from the King, under penalty of forfeiting their offices. Villa-Manrique was recalled to Spain, and his successor was Luis de Velasco, son of the second viceroy, who had for some time been a resident in the province and was

very popular there. During his rule, which lasted from 1590 to 1595, the country progressed considerably, and the capital was embellished.

The ninth viceroy was Gaspar de Zuñiga y Acevedo, Count de Monterey. He sent Oñate to make the conquest of New Mexico, which was accomplished in 1599; and Sebastian Vizcaino, by the orders of the viceroy, explored the coast of California and gave to the bay which he discovered the name of Monterey. In Nuevo León the town of Monterey was founded, a place of some importance in the history of Mexico.

In 1598 Philip II died and was succeeded by his son, Philip III, during whose reign took place the expulsion of the Moors, an event which greatly impoverished Spain. The King was weak and incompetent and was governed entirely by his favorite, the Duke of Lerma. In 1600 Vera Cruz was removed to the site first chosen by Cortés for the town of Villa Rica, and in 1603 the Count de Monterey was promoted, like his predecessor Velasco, to the viceroyalty of Peru. He was very much regretted by the Indians, whom he had treated with great fairness when many of them had been assembled in town in order to better obtain the payment of tribute from them.

We have now reached the end of the sixteenth century, during which took place the conquest of Mexico. There had been great changes in the country, from the time when Grijalva landed on the coast in 1519, and when Hernán Cortés started from Cuba to accomplish the task left undone by Grijalva. Instead of the semi-barbarous splendor of the Aztecs, European civilization was seen. No longer were captives taken to the *teocalli* to be sacrificed to the war-god. Admirable cathedrals had replaced the Indian temples, and devotion to the gentle God of the Christians had taken the place of the worship of Huizilopochtli. The languages of the Indians had been studied by the devoted friars, and books had been written to teach the natives the doctrines of the religion of Christ. Literature had begun to flourish as well

as architecture and painting, and many races and castes were seen where the Aztecs alone had lived. The races, says Señor Verdía, were the Spaniards, the Indians, the Negroes, the Chinese and the Philippinos or Malays, and the castes were generally the crossing of the races. It is interesting to see the names of the different castes in the colony. The principal were that of the *criollos* or creoles, white natives of the country and children of Spaniards; that of the *mestizos* or *coyotes,* children of Spaniards and Indians; the *castiza* caste came from the mestizos and Spaniards; the *mulata,* from the Spanish and negroes; the *morisca,* from mulattoes and Spaniards; the caste *salto atrás,* was of those people who were members of the white family but presented some traces of the negro race, and from the caste *salto atrás* and the Indian race, came the *china* caste; from the Chinese and mulattoes, the caste *lobo;* from the lobo and the mulatto caste, the *jibaro;* from the latter with the Indians, the *albarrazado;* from the negro race with the *albarrazado* caste, the *cambujo,* and from the Indian with the *cambujo* came the *zambo* or *zambaigo* caste. There soon arose in the province a marked antagonism between the creoles, who were, many of them, descendants of the conquerors, and the Spaniards, and that antagonism was an important factor in the revolutions which finally accomplished the independence of Mexico in the nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER VI

### *NEW SPAIN FROM 1603 TO 1766*

THE successor of the Count de Monterey was Juan Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis de Montesclaros, a man of great energy, who ruled from 1603 to 1606, and was then promoted to the viceroyalty of Peru. During the year 1604 there was such a terrible inundation in the capital that it was thought expedient to remove it to the hills of Tacubaya, but as the buildings in the city were worth more than twenty million pesos, it was deemed wiser to retain the present site and protect it with new dikes and causeways. In 1605 the Indians, who had been congregated in towns during Monterey's administration, were allowed to return to their former habitations.

In 1607 Luis de Velasco was again appointed viceroy. He had resigned his office in Peru and was residing in New Spain when he was called upon for the second time to govern that province. In order to protect Mexico city from inundations he adopted the plans of the engineer, Enrico Martinez, a Hollander educated in Spain, and of the Jesuit mathematician, Juan Sánchez, to construct the Huehuetoca tunnel to drain the water of Lake Zumpango. The work, which was a considerable engineering feat for the time, was accomplished in the year 1608. However, in 1611, the celebrated Dutch engineer, Adrian Boot, advised the return to the dike system of the Aztecs.

In 1609 the negroes in the Vera Cruz district revolted, and an expedition was sent to dislodge them from their stronghold in the mountains. They were defeated after severe fighting, but were allowed to form a settlement at San Lorenzo. In 1612 there was another plot of the negroes to revolt, and such was the panic in the capital, that, on Holy Thursday, the day said to have been set upon for the insurrection to break out, a drove of pigs having been driven into the city during the night, many persons were greatly frightened, thinking the insurgents had begun their ravages. In order to terrify the negroes thirty-three of the supposed culprits were executed and their heads exposed in the public square. At that time Velasco was no longer viceroy, for in 1611 he had been appointed President of the Council of the Indies and had been succeeded by Fray Garcia Guerra, Archbishop of Mexico, whose rule was of less than a year, as he died from a fall from his carriage. In 1611 Sebastian Vizcaino, who had explored a considerable part of the coast of California, was sent by the viceroy on an embassy to Japan with Fray Pedro Bautista. As the purpose of the ambassadors was rather to make explorations than to honor the Emperor of Japan, the latter, instigated by the English and Dutch, treated the Spaniards with scant courtesy, and they returned to their country after undergoing many perils.

After the death of the Archbishop the Audience ruled for a short time, until the arrival, in 1612, of the viceroy, Diego Fernández de Córdova, Marquis de Guadalcazar, during whose rule were founded the towns of Lerma in 1613, and of Córdova in 1618, and the aqueduct to San Cosme was extended to Santa Isabel, an important and costly work. In 1621 Guadalcazar was transferred to Peru, and the same year Philip III died. He was succeeded by his son, Philip IV, who, like his father, was ruled for many years by a favorite, the Count-Duke of Olivares. During the reign of Philip IV Spain continued to decline in power: Portugal regained its independence in 1640, and the disastrous treaty of the Pyrenees was signed on the Isle of Pheasants in the

Bidasoa by Mazarin and Luis de Haro. The Spanish monarch gave his daughter, Maria Theresa, in marriage to Louis XIV, and ceded to France Artois, Roussillon, and his rights to Alsace. Philip IV was not a statesman or a captain, but he was a man of culture and a patron of art and letters. He protected and favored highly Calderón de la Barca, the great rival of Lope de Vega who lived also during part of Philip's reign. The reign of Philip III had been rendered illustrious by Cervantes who published, in 1605 and 1615, his wonderful *Don Quijote.*

The new viceroy reached Mexico in 1621. Most of his predecessors had long names, but his was longer still; he was named Diego Carrillo de Mendoza y Pimentel, Marquis de Gelves and Count de Priego. For brevity we shall call him Gelves. He was stern and just, and proceeded with great zeal to reform abuses and punish dishonest officials. He ordered one of the latter, Veráez, to be arrested, but the prisoner escaped and took refuge in a convent, claiming sanctuary. Guards were placed at the door of the convent, and Veráez complained to the Archbishop, Juan Pérez de la Serna, that the right of sanctuary had been violated. The Archbishop, who was as violent as the viceroy, excommunicated the judges who had condemned Veráez and the sentinels who had guarded him. The latter appealed to the delegate of the Pope, and the viceroy condemned a notary of the prelate to be arrested and banished from the country. Thereupon the Archbishop excommunicated Gelves and ordered his name to be affixed as such to the church door. Upon appeal to the delegate, the Archbishop was ordered to remove the bans of excommunication. He refused to do so, and a sub-delegate took off the notices of excommunication from the church door. The Archbishop still refusing to yield, the sub-delegate was ordered to execute upon him an order of fine and banishment. On January 11, 1624, the prelate went to the viceregal palace to demand justice of the Audience, and, on his refusing to return to his palace until his petition was received, the Archbishop was

condemned by the *oidores* to pay a fine and be banished from New Spain. He said he would yield only to force, and indeed Terrones, the *alcalde del crimen,* and his deputy, Perea, taking him each by an arm, made him enter a carriage drawn by four mules, and started on the way to San Juan de Ulua, where De la Serna was to embark for Spain. In the meantime the repentant *oidores* ordered that the Archbishop be taken back to the capital as there had been irregularity in the previous proceedings.

The prelate had advanced as far as the town of San Juan Teotihuacán when, having heard of the decree of the *oidores* in his favor, he entered a church, and placing a wafer on a paten, stood for hours before the altar, defying any of his guards to lay their hands upon him. None dared to do so, and finally the people of the town liberated De la Serna from his guards. In the capital a terrible riot broke out, and although the viceroy consented to recall the Archbishop, the viceregal palace was attacked and set on fire. Gelves defended himself with courage, but he had to yield and escaped to a convent. The Audience took charge of affairs and the Archbishop returned in triumph. As soon, however, as news of this unseemly quarrel between viceroy and archbishop reached Spain, Martin de Carrillo, inquisitor of Valladolid, was ordered to make an investigation and punish the guilty. At the same time a new viceroy was appointed, Rodrigo Pacheco y Osorio, Marquis de Cerralvo.

Shortly after the arrival of the inquisitor and of Cerralvo it was resolved to restore the dignity of the viceregal office. The name of Gelves was removed from the excommunication tablet and he was reinstalled, at least apparently, in his position. He entered Mexico in triumph, while his former adversary, De la Serna, went to Spain, and he awaited his *residencia,* or investigation of his government. He came off from the trial with honor and returned to Spain, where he was well received at court. Archbishop de la Serna was not sent back to New Spain, but was appointed to the see of Zamora. His successor at Mexico was Francisco de Manso

Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico.

*Photographed in the uniform of a general of the Mexican army.*

y Zuñiga. The inquisitor was not very severe and punished but few of the participants in the riot, and thus ended a curious incident in the history of Mexico, one which proves how important it is that there should be no division of power in a state between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. The civil alone should rule.

The disturbed condition of the Spanish monarchy in Europe reacted on the colonies in the New World. During the war with Holland the Dutch fleets inflicted heavy losses on the commerce of Spain and her colonies, and in 1628 the Dutch admiral, Pieter Heyne, captured in the Bahama Channel the treasure fleet, which was carrying to Spain bullion and other effects worth twelve million pesos, a great loss for the King and for the merchants of New Spain.

A few years later war broke out between France and Spain, and as great ravages were committed by the French corsairs as by the Dutch. To protect the Gulf of Mexico and the waters of the West Indies, and to prevent smuggling a squadron was formed which was called the Barlovento (the Windward), and the colonists on the islands and on the mainland from Panama northward were taxed for the maintenance of the fleet.

In September, 1629, after heavy rainfalls, there occurred in Mexico the most terrible inundation the city had ever suffered. It lasted for two years, and many persons perished, and many houses were destroyed. The inhabitants were compelled in large numbers to take refuge on the roofs of their dwellings, and there were no ways of communication in the streets except in canoes. It was again contemplated to remove the capital to the hills of Tacubaya, but the great value of the public and private buildings and of the churches, convents and hospitals caused the idea to be abandoned as it had been in 1604. The engineer, Martinez, closed the drainage tunnel, as he thought that the flood would destroy the works. He was imprisoned for the act, and great exertions were made to endeavor to protect the city in the future from the waters of the lakes. Archbishop Manso, the successor of De

la Serna, and Viceroy Cerralvo displayed great kindness during the disastrous inundation, but they did not agree perfectly, and the Archbishop was recalled to Spain and transferred to the see of Badajoz. Cerralvo himself resigned his office in 1635 and was succeeded by Lope Diaz de Armendariz, Marquis de Cadereita, who ruled uneventfully until 1640. He founded the town of Cadereita in New León.

The seventeenth viceroy was a grandee of Spain of an illustrious Portuguese family, Diego Lopez Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, Marquis de Villena and Duke de Escalona. During his administration nothing of importance occurred, and he was removed from office on charges of plotting against the King in favor of the Portuguese who had revolted against Spain. The charges were made by the visitador Palafox, Bishop of Puebla, who succeeded Escalona as viceroy, and governed from June to November, 1642. Escalona exonerated himself at court and was named viceroy of Sicily. Palafox ruled with ability, but in order to make better Christians of the Indians he unfortunately destroyed many statues and idols of the times of the Aztecs. On the appointment of the Count de Salvatierra, whose numerous names we shall omit, Bishop Palafox returned to his see at Puebla, and had with the Jesuits a long quarrel which ended by his transfer to a see in Spain. Salvatierra founded in the province of Guanajuato a town to which he gave his name, and in 1648 went to Peru as viceroy. The bishop of Yucatan, Marcos de Torres y Rueda, governed New Spain for a short time, and during his administration a terrible *auto de fe* of one hundred and seven persons took place. Such events were unfortunately of frequent occurrence in the colony.

For several years the history of Mexico was marked by few events of importance. Viceroys with long names, and some with distinguished names, succeeded one another without accomplishing great deeds. They were the Count de Alva de Liste (1650 to 1653), the Duke de Albuquerque (1655 to 1660), the Count de Baños (1660 to 1664), Bishop Osorio (June to October, 1664), and Antonio

Sebastian de Toledo, Marquis de Mancera (1664 to 1673). In 1665 there was an eruption of the great volcano, Popocatepetl, which lasted four days, and in 1667 there was an earthquake, which did not do great damage. Many earthquakes, large and small, are mentioned in the history of Mexico. In 1665 King Philip IV died and left his throne to his son Charles II, under the regency of his mother, Mariana of Austria. Charles was the last Spanish monarch of the house of Austria, and was one of the most incompetent of the kings of Spain. During his reign, which lasted until the year 1700, his European possessions suffered greatly, as well as his colonies. Already, in 1655, Jamaica had been captured by the British, who have retained possession of it to this day. In 1668 the great cathedral in the city of Mexico was dedicated a second time, on the completion of the interior of the church. A first dedication had taken place in 1657 during the administration of the Duke de Albuquerque.

The successor of Mancera was a direct descendant of Columbus. His full name was Pedro Nuño Colón de Portugal, Duke de Veraguas and Marquis de la Jamaica. He was a grandee of Spain and an excellent man. Unfortunately he died five days after taking possession of his office. His successor was Fray Payo Enriquez de Rivera, Archbishop of Mexico, whose beneficent rule lasted from 1673 to 1680. In 1679 gold was coined for the first time in Mexico. Thus far it had been sent to Spain in bullion. Viceroy Rivera solicited his removal from office, and the King granted his request, appointing him President of the Council of the Indies and Bishop of Cuenca. On his arrival in Spain, however, he resigned both positions and retired to a monastery. His two immediate successors were the Marquis de la Laguna (1680 to 1686), and the Count de Monclova (1686 to 1688), who is called the "man with the silver arm", because he had lost an arm in battle and had supplied it with a silver one. He reminds us of Tonty "with the iron hand", so well known as the gallant companion of La Salle, when the latter explored the Mississippi to its mouth in 1682.

In 1683 six hundred pirates, commanded by Nicholas Agramont, took Vera Cruz by surprise and committed great depredations. More than three hundred persons in the town perished. The pirates had kept for five days in the church, without food, six thousand persons. They retired before a force sent against them could reach them. The next viceroy after Monclova was Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza, Count de Galve. In 1689 he sent an expedition to the Bay of Espiritu Santo, under Alonso de León, governor of Coahuila, to dislodge the French who were said to have formed a settlement under La Salle in what is now the State of Texas. Alonso de León found La Salle's fort deserted and his settlement destroyed, as the great explorer had been murdered by his own men, in 1687, on his way by land to obtain aid from Canada for his colony. In 1690 the French, who had taken possession of Santo Domingo, were defeated by troops commanded by Viceroy Galve, and in the same year missions were established near the river, now known as the Neches in Texas. In 1691 the country was explored northward by land and sea, and in 1693 the town of Pensacola in Florida was founded, and a fort erected. The town received at the time the name of Santa María, and the bay was called later Santa María de Galvez for Bernardo de Galvez.

In 1692 there occurred in the capital a serious riot caused by the scarcity of corn. In an altercation about the price of corn an Indian woman was killed, and immediately there was an uprising of the Indians, who attacked the palace and set it on fire. It was seriously damaged and some of the public archives were destroyed before the insurrection could be quelled. In 1696 Galve was succeeded by Montañez, Bishop of Michoacan, who ruled from February to December. One month after his accession there was a riot of the students of the University, who burned the pillory and ran about the streets crying: "Death to the Catedraticos." In 1696 missions were established definitely in California by the Jesuit Fathers Kino and Salvatierra, and at the end of the year

Viceroy José Sarmiento Valladares, Count de Montezuma y Tula, took possession of the government. His wife was Geronima María, a lineal descendant of the Aztec Chief-of-Men. As his rule extended to the year 1701 we shall review briefly the events that took place during the seventeenth century and relate the history of Spain after the death of the last male descendant of Charles V.

The history of New Spain, in the seventeenth century, is by far not as interesting as that of the sixteenth, which comprises the period of the conquest and the supposed conspiracy of the son of the Conqueror. In the seventeenth century the most dramatic event is the obstinate quarrel between viceroy Gelves and Archbishop de la Serna; otherwise the history of the century is one of the development of commerce, agriculture and mining and of the extension of the colony by explorations and settlements. The most notable progress, however, was in science, art, and literature, and we take from Señor Verdía's *History* some of the most important names, as follows:

Historians: Fray Juan de Torquemada, called the Livy of New Spain; Fray Juan González de la Fuente, Cristóbal Chavez and Fray Juan de Santa Ana; orator, Fray Juan de Tovar, called the Mexican Cicero; poets, Fray Juan Guevara, Pedro López de Avilés, Gaspar Villaga, Pedro Muñoz de Castro, Doña Maria Medinilla, Sor Teresa de Cristo, and greatest of all, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz; dramatists, Eusebio Vela, Juan Ortiz de Torres, Gerónimo Becerra, Alonso Ramirez Vargas and Agustin Salazar y Torres; painters, Luis Juárez, Sebastian de Arteaga, Juan Herrero, Fray Diego Becerra, Echave, and Nicolás Rodriguez Juarez, called the Mexican Apelles.

At the death of Charles II, in 1700, it was found that he had bequeathed all his Empire to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, who had married the eldest sister of Charles. There were five pretenders to the Spanish crown, all descended from Charles V in the female line, and the

King of France might have made an advantageous compromise and acquired peacefully a large part of the inheritance of Charles II. He wished, however, to extend greatly the power of the house of Bourbon, and he accepted for his grandson the testament of Charles. He announced his decision by presenting the Duke of Anjou to his court and saying: "Gentlemen, here is the King of Spain." A powerful league was formed in Europe against France and Spain, and Marlborough and Eugene of Savoy defeated on many battlefields the armies of Louis and Philip. Finally Marshal Vendôme won the battle of Villaviciosa, and Marshal Villars that of Denain, and peace was signed at Utrecht in 1713. Philip V remained King of Spain and kept his colonies in the New World and the Philippines, but he lost all his Italian possessions, and the rock of Gibraltar which the British have ever since guarded jealously.

During the terrible war of the Spanish Succession the fleets of the enemies of Spain and of France were ever watching for the treasure ships, and in 1702 a fleet, which had sailed from Vera Cruz with a treasure said to be worth fifty million pesos, was attacked in the port of Vigo in Spain and destroyed. The Spanish admiral threw the treasure into the sea to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, and many millions of pesos in gold lie at the bottom of the sea near the coast of Spain. In vain have treasure hunters tried to get them.

Viceroy Sarmiento de Montezuma was suspected of disloyalty to the Bourbon dynasty, and was removed from office in 1701. He was succeeded by Juan Ortega y Montañez, who was then Archbishop of Mexico and became viceroy a second time. He ruled for about a year, and his successor was Francisco Fernandez de la Cueva, Duke de Albuquerque and Marquis de Cuellar, a nobleman with numerous titles, who governed with such splendor that his magnificence is still remembered in Mexico. He imitated and even surpassed kings and emperors who give many names to their children, for, at the confirmation of his daughter, he gave her

fifty-three names. During his viceroyalty, which lasted nine years, the town of Albuquerque, in New Mexico, was founded, and a tribunal called the *Acordada* was established to punish robbers and brigands. The tribunal was very severe and accomplished some good.

The next two viceroys were the Duke de Linares (1711-1716), who founded the town of San Felipe de Linares in New León, and the Marquis de Valero, Duke de Arion (1716-1722), who supplied Querétaro with water by constructing an aqueduct. The thirty-seventh viceroy, Juan de Acuña, Marquis de Casafuerte (1722-1734), was born at Lima, and had been viceroy of Messina and Sicily and had reached the highest military title, that of captain-general. He was one of the best rulers New Spain ever had, and he is known as the "great governor." He attended to public improvements in the capital and improved also considerably the public service. He died in 1734 and was greatly regretted by the people. In 1728 the *Gaceta de México* was published; six numbers of it had already appeared in 1722. In 1724 Philip V abdicated his crown in favor of his son, Luis I, but on the death of the latter, after a reign of six months, Philip ascended the throne again.

The viceroys, after Casafuerte, were Archbishop Vizarrón y Eguiarreta (1734-1740), the Duke de la Conquista (1740-1741), the Count de Fuenclara (1742-1746), the Count de Revillagigedo (1746-1755), the Marquis de las Amarillas (1755-1760), Francisco Gagigal de la Vega (1760), Joaquin de Monserrat, Marquis de Cruillas (1760-1766). The principal events from 1734 to 1766 were as follows: Lorenzo Boturini, an Italian, who had made valuable researches in the history of Mexico, was arrested by Viceroy Fuenclara, because he had not procured the sanction of the Council of the Indies to make collections for providing a costly crown for the Lady of Guadalupe. His manuscripts were taken away from him, and he was sent to Spain. In 1743 the British admiral, George Anson, captured the galleon from the Philippines carrying more than two million pesos.

In 1746 Philip V, the first Bourbon King of Spain, died. He had been a far better ruler than his immediate predecessors, and his sons, Ferdinand VI, who reigned thirteen years, and Charles III, from 1759 to 1788, were rulers of ability. By the treaty of Paris, in 1763, Spain ceded to Great Britain the territory known as West Florida, but she had acquired from France in 1762, by the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, all the province of Louisiana on the right bank of the Mississippi River, and the city of New Orleans on the left bank. The Louisianians made a heroic revolution against Spain in 1768 and expelled the Spanish governor, Ulloa, who had arrived in the colony in 1766, but General O'Reilly reestablished the Spanish domination in 1769 and put to death several of the chiefs of the Revolution of 1768 in Louisiana. This province was supposed to be of great help to Mexico as being a barrier between her and the British possessions in North America.

## CHAPTER VII

### *NEW SPAIN AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*

In 1766 the Marquis de Croix became viceroy, and in 1767, under a decree of the Spanish Córtes, the Jesuits were expelled from New Spain, and their property was confiscated. Among them was the historian Clavigero. The successor of the Marquis de Croix was Antonio Bucareli y Urzua, who ruled from 1771 to his death in 1779. He attended to his office with zeal and wisdom and was as good a ruler as Casafuerte. During his administration the *Monte pio* was founded by Romero Terreros, Count de Regla, an institution which is still in existence and has accomplished great good. The founder endowed it with three hundred thousand pesos, and stipulated that money should be lent to the poor without interest. Later a low rate of interest was charged. Hospitals and asylums for the poor were established at that time, and Archbishop Lorenzana founded a foundling asylum called La Cuna. It was he who presided in 1771 over the fourth Mexican provincial council whose deliberations were very important, and who edited the letters of Hernán Cortés.

In order to avoid an interregnum in the viceregal office the Spanish government generally chose some one to succeed the incumbent, in case a vacancy occurred suddenly, and the name was placed in a sealed envelope known as the *pliego de mortaja.* When there was no such document the president of the Audience ruled in the interim. At the death of Bucareli it was found, on opening the *pliego de mortaja,* that

the President of Guatemala had been named his successor. It is said that the powerful President of the Council of the Indies, José de Galvez, had intended that his brother, Matias, should become viceroy after Bucareli, in his capacity as President of Guatemala, but before he took possession of the latter office Bucareli died, and Martin de Mayorga, who was ruling in Guatemala, was transferred to New Spain. He acquired the enmity of José de Galvez, who frustrated many of his plans of government. His predecessor, Bucareli, had been so highly esteemed by the King that his salary had been raised from sixty thousand to eighty thousand pesos a year, and that no *residencia,* or investigation of his administration, was held at his death.

Spain joined France in 1779, and declared war against England. She gave, in that way, considerable help to the patriots who had established the young republic of the United States and were fighting valiantly, under the leadership of Washington, against the great power of the British Empire. In Louisiana the heroic governor, Bernardo de Galvez, determined to expel the British from their possessions in West Florida, and in 1779, with an army composed principally of Creoles, or Louisianians of French origin, he made the conquest of Baton Rouge. In 1780 he attacked Fort Charlotte, at Mobile, and captured that town, and in 1781 he commanded an expedition directed against Pensacola. A Spanish fleet accompanied Galvez's army, but as the admiral hesitated to risk his ships across the bar at the entrance of the bay, Galvez sailed boldly on the *Galveztown* which had come from New Orleans, and entered the harbor. The fleet followed him, with the exception of the flagship, which was too heavy, and after a protracted siege, Pensacola was conquered. The British lost all of West Florida, and Galvez and his Louisianians rendered to the American patriots a service which should have been more appreciated in the history of the United States. Bernardo de Galvez was highly rewarded by Charles III, who made him a lieutenant-general and Captain-General of Cuba, and allowed him to place

as a crest on his coat-of-arms the brig *Galveztown,* with the proud motto: *Yo Solo,* and one of the *fleurs-de-lis* of Louisiana.

The British were attacked also at Belize by Roberto Rivas Betancourt, and dislodged from that place in 1779. Viceroy Mayorga sent six hundred thousand pesos to Louisiana for the campaigns of Galvez, and aided Rivas Betancourt with money and gunpowder in his expedition against Belize. Nevertheless he was unpopular at court and was recalled in 1783, and died on shipboard. He had founded in 1781 the San Carlos Academy of Fine Arts. His successor was Matias de Galvez, a brother of José, Minister of State of Charles III. He ruled for a few months only, and died in November, 1783. That year was marked by the treaty of Paris which put an end to the War of the American Revolution, during which the United States was greatly aided by France and somewhat by Spain. The part taken by the latter country in the war for American independence was deemed injudicious by the principal secretary of state of the King, Pedro Abarca de Bolea, Count de Aranda, who had signed the treaty of peace with Great Britain. In a paper addressed to Charles III he said that the example of the British colony might be imitated by the Spanish-American colonies, and he added words which were so sensible and prophetic that we shall translate them in full, as quoted in Señor Verdía's *History:* "This federated republic was born, we may say, a pigmy, because two powerful countries, Spain and France, have formed it and given birth to it by aiding it with their forces to become independent: to-morrow it will be a giant, and afterwards an irresistible colossus in those regions; in that condition it will forget the benefits it has received from both powers, and will think of nothing but its aggrandizement. The freedom of religion, the facility to settle immense lands, and the advantages which this new government offers, will attract farmers and artisans of all nations, because man goes where he may better his condition, and within a few years we shall see with the greatest regret the rise of the

colossus which I have indicated. This Anglo-American country having grown powerful, we must believe that its first looks will be directed toward the entire possession of the Floridas, in order to dominate the Mexican Gulf. This accomplished it will not only interrupt as it pleases the commerce with Mexico, but it will aspire to the conquest of that vast empire, which we shall not be able to defend from Europe against a great and powerful country, established on that continent and a neighbor to New Spain." Aranda then recommended the establishment of three independent monarchies: Mexico, Peru, and Costa Firme. Cuba, Puerto Rico and some other islands would be retained to serve as entrepôts, and the King of Spain would be emperor and the head of the whole system, as the sovereigns of the new independent countries would be chosen from the House of Bourbon, and their marriages would be with the royal family of Spain. There would be treaties of reciprocity, and France, according to the Family Compact, would be specially favored. No country in America would be allowed to become very powerful.

The anticipation by Aranda of the reverse of the Monroe Doctrine is very curious, and it is unfortunate for Spain that his suggestion was not adopted. It is difficult, however, to say how long monarchies might have existed on the American continent, where was growing, as the count well expressed it, the "giant Republic." We have seen, in our own day, the Empire of Brazil become a republic, although it was well governed by the sage Dom Pedro. Nevertheless, the following words of Aranda's are very interesting: "These are not vain fears, but a true prognostic of what must infallibly happen within a few years if there is not a change in America. The human condition is the same in all parts and in all climes. He who has power and faculty to acquire, does not despise it; and this being granted, how is it possible that the American colonies, when they will see themselves in a condition to conquer the Kingdom of Mexico, will restrain themselves and leave us in peaceful possession of that rich country?

That is not credible; and thus sane policy dictates that in time we should anticipate the evils which may happen." Aranda was certainly accurate in his prevision of the independence of the Spanish colonies and in predicting the Mexican war and the conquest by the United States.

The heroic governor of Louisiana, Bernardo, Count de Galvez, succeeded his father, in 1785, as viceroy of New Spain. He was permitted to retain the offices of inspector general of all troops in America and of captain-general of Louisiana and the Floridas, with pay. He was a man of admirable character and disposition, and became immediately immensely popular in Mexico, as he had been in Louisiana. His wife, Félicité de Saint Maxent, was a native of Louisiana and a member of a distinguished French family. She was a charming woman and added greatly to her husband's popularity. Galvez built, at a cost of three hundred thousand pesos, the palace of Chapultepec, which is a veritable fortress, and attended diligently to the needs of the people. During a famine he heard that the public granary was empty and that the poor people were suffering. He came out without an escort and without his hat, to remedy the evil. He gave twelve thousand pesos from his father's estate to relieve the distress caused by the famine, and discarding the usual etiquette of the viceroys he allowed all persons to approach him who wished. His popularity became so great that it was thought by some that he wished to establish himself as an independent sovereign in New Spain, but neither the Audience nor the King ever suspected him of treasonable designs. When he died at Tacubaya, on November 30, 1786, aged thirty-eight, extraordinary honors were paid to his memory and to his family. His posthumous daughter was christened with great solemnity, and the sponsors were "the most noble city of Mexico", represented by Corregidor Crespo, and the wife of the senior *oidor*. The King provided liberally for the maintenance of the family of Bernardo de Galvez, who was one of the noblest rulers of Spanish Louisiana and of New Spain.

The fiftieth viceroy, Archbishop Haro y Peralta, ruled only from May to August, 1787, and the fifty-first, Manuel Antonio Flores (1787 to 1789), who was a lieutenant-general and a vice-admiral, attended principally to military matters. During his administration Charles III died, on December 14, 1788. As we have already said, he was one of the best kings of Spain and the ablest of the Bourbon dynasty. His son, Charles IV, was a weak and incompetent man who was ruled by his wife and his favorite, Manuel Godoy, Prince of Peace.

In October, 1789, a new viceroy entered the capital. His name was Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco de Padilla, second Count de Revillagigedo, and he was the son of a former viceroy. He was one of the most useful rulers of New Spain, and his administration is noted for many improvements, especially in the city of Mexico, where he inaugurated a system of lighting, and organized an effective fire brigade and police system. He cleansed the city, established free public schools for children of both sexes, and opened, on January 1, 1792, the celebrated College of Mining. He captured and punished numerous robbers and bandits, and wishing to correct all abuses he caused to be placed in one of the halls of his palace a letter box, in which all persons having complaints or suggestions to make might deposit written statements.

Revillagigedo had a census taken in 1790, according to which the population of the intendencia of Mexico was more than 1,500,000, and that of the capital nearly 113,000. Humboldt, however, says H. H. Bancroft, estimated the population of the city, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, at 137,000. Of these 2,500 were Europeans, 65,000 Spanish creoles, 33,000 native Indians, 26,500 mestizos, and 10,000 mulattoes. Before the arrival of Revillagigedo the great square or plaza presented a singular appearance. "Notwithstanding the orders issued after the riot of 1692," says Bancroft, "its surface was covered with booths and stands of every description and filled with half-naked hucksters. The gallows and the pillory occupied a prominent place in front

of the viceregal palace to the right, and the execution of criminals could be witnessed by many thousands of spectators. A column, poorly constructed and crowned by a statue of Fernando VI, rose in the centre of the square, and one side was the graveyard of the cathedral. The interior of the viceregal palace, which was never closed, was also filled with hucksters' booths, and along the sides of its walls flowed the drainage canals which received the offal of the city."

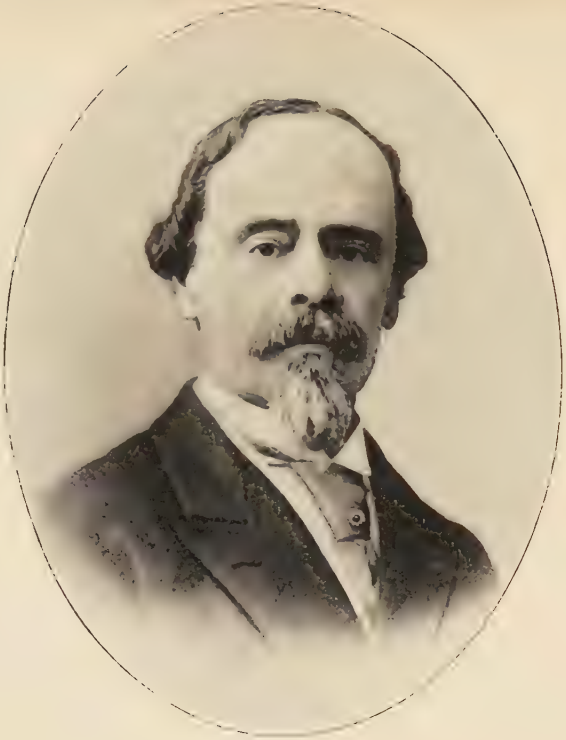
"Notwithstanding these drawbacks," adds Bancroft, "at the close of the eighteenth century Mexico was the largest city in America, and one of the finest built by Europeans on either hemisphere. From north to south it measured one league, and three-fourths of a league from east to west. It was encircled by a ditch, or navigable canal, which served at the same time as a drain and military defence, and prevented goods from being introduced except by the causeways and gates, thus serving as a protection to the customs department. The buildings were plain and elegant, not overladen with ornaments, and not disfigured by the uncouth galleries and balconies so common to other Spanish cities. The material of which they were mainly constructed—tetzontli and a peculiar kind of porphyry—gave them an aspect of solidity and splendor. The most prominent architectural structure in the city was then, as it is now, the cathedral; and as to the palace of the viceroys, it was said that no edifice in Madrid could compare with it in size. Adjoining, and on the side fronting toward the palace of the Archbishop, stood the mint, a large and imposing structure. The custom-house, fronting on the Plaza Santo Domingo, was also a fine edifice. The botanic garden in one of the courts of the viceregal palace, though small, was famous for its collection of rare plants, and of such as were important to industry and commerce."

The municipality buildings were imposing, and other edifices were the tobacco factory, where about five thousand persons were employed; the college of San Ildefonso, the mining school, the university building and public library, the academy of fine arts, the hospices, the theatre, and the

building of the Inquisition. There were many *paseos* or public walks in the city, of which the most beautiful was the *alameda* or poplar-walk, superior to any in Spain. In the *paseo* of Bucareli was the colossal equestrian statue of Charles IV, erected at first on the *plaza,* and later removed to the *paseo.* "It was of bronze and in one piece, modelled, cast, and erected by the celebrated Mexican sculptor, Manuel Tolsa. Humboldt, who was present at the unveiling of the monument, says that, except the statue of Marcus Aurelius, at Rome, there was nothing of the kind in Europe to equal it in beauty and purity of design." There were many convents and fine churches; indeed, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Tenochtitlán had become a beautiful modern city.

The administration of the able and energetic Revillagigedo was at the time of the most eventful years of the French Revolution, and the Spanish government forbade the introduction in its colonies of anything which might suggest the idea of revolt or independence. In spite of his great services the viceroy was removed in 1794 and unjustly persecuted. After his death his worth was recognized, and his descendants were made grandees of Spain of the first class. His successor, the Marquis de Branciforte, was a brother-in-law of Godoy, and on that account honors and benefits were heaped upon him by the King. He was even invested with the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Branciforte was a sycophant and a courtier, and it is he who caused to be erected in the capital the beautiful statue of Charles IV. He confiscated the possessions of the Frenchmen residing in New Spain and in Louisiana, and the sole purpose of his administration seems to have been to accumulate wealth by any means whatever. When he left Mexico in 1798 he took away with him an immense treasure. Later he became a partisan of Joseph Bonaparte, when the latter was made King of Spain by his illustrious brother. The last viceroy in the eighteenth century was Miguel José de Azanza, a man of honor and ability, who ruled New Spain from 1798



Ignacio Mariscal.
Secretary of foreign affairs, 1880–1883.

Benito Pablo Juarez.
President of Mexico, 1859–1872.

to 1800. In 1799 there was a conspiracy, known as the "machete", to expel all the Spaniards or *gachupines* from the province. The conspirators were few in number, and their weapons were sabres called *machetes*. The plot was ridiculous, but Azanza says of it: "Although the condition of the individuals who formed the project would cause me little anxiety, as neither for their position, faculties, nor talents were they fit to carry out a plan of that kind, yet by some great misfortune there exist in America an ancient division and bitter enmity between Europeans and creoles, an enmity capable of producing the most fatal results and which must ever be a source of apprehension to the government. I deemed it necessary to look seriously at this matter, and to take active steps to check the evil at the start." Azanza judged sensibly of the seriousness of the situation. Mexico was at the dawn of her independence, and the House of Bourbon was soon to lose its finest possession in the New World. Viceroy Azanza himself was shortly to abandon the cause of the descendant of Charles V and Louis XIV, and to acknowledge as his sovereign the brother of the man who, by the might of his sword, had put upon his brow the crown of Charlemagne.

The men of letters and of art who honored New Spain during the eighteenth century were: Clavigero, historian of ancient Mexico; Fathers Alegre y Cavo and Veytia, littérateurs and historians; the poets, Fathers José de Abad and Sartorio, and Ruiz de León and Manuel de Navarrete; the painter Miguel Cabrera, and the architect Tres Guerras.

The history of the nineteenth century, which we shall begin in our next chapter, is as interesting and as dramatic as that of the Conquest. It is the history of a people striving to establish an independent and powerful nation.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE*

The first viceroy of the nineteenth century was Felix Berenguer de Marquina, who governed from 1800 to 1803. Although he was an admiral he had been captured at sea by the British on his way to New Spain, taken to Jamaica and then allowed to proceed to his post. He was very humane and forbade bull-fights in Mexico, proving his sincerity in that reform by paying seven thousand pesos of his own money on the claim made by the *ayuntamiento,* or municipal government of Mexico, that there must be a bull-fight to cover a deficiency in the expense incurred in the reception of the viceroy. Marquina accomplished nothing of importance and was succeeded by José de Iturrigaray, during whose administration New Spain felt the effects of the momentous events which were taking place in Europe.

The real ruler of Spain, at the end of the eighteenth century, was Manuel Godoy, Prince of Peace, the favorite of Charles IV and of his wife. Bonaparte, on June 14, 1800, crushed the Austrian army at Marengo, and confident that he would make peace with Austria and with England, he resolved to rebuild the magnificent colonial empire which France had lost during the wretched reign of Louis XV. He thought of the immense province of Louisiana, ceded to Spain in 1762, and he persuaded Godoy that Louisiana, in the possession of France, would be a protection for Mexico and the Gulf. He sent Berthier, his renowned chief-of-staff,

to San Ildefonso, where was signed, on October 1, 1800, a secret treaty by which Louisiana was to be retroceded to the French Republic six months after the execution of conditions relative to the Duke of Parma, son-in-law of Charles IV. On March 21, 1801, another treaty was signed at Madrid by Lucien Bonaparte, confirming that of San Ildefonso, and stipulating that, on account of the cession of Louisiana to France, the Duchy of Tuscany should be given to the Duke of Parma, who should receive the title of King of Etruria. It was only, however, on October 15, 1802, that Charles IV signed the treaty of retrocession, and one of his conditions was that "France must pledge herself not to alienate Louisiana, and to restore it to Spain, in case the King of Etruria should lose his power." In spite of the stipulation of Charles, such was his weakness that Bonaparte did not hesitate to sell to the United States, on April 30, 1803, the province of Louisiana, retroceded by Spain. He had not even announced his intention to Charles IV who, nevertheless, remained on good terms with him and joined his fleet to that of France in a war against England. At the battle of Trafalgar, on October 20, 1805, the French and Spanish fleets were defeated and almost annihilated, although they fought heroically, and it was feared that the English would attack Vera Cruz.

In December, 1804, Bonaparte, the First Consul, the victor of Marengo, had become the Emperor Napoleon, who, after 1805, 1806, and 1807, was the victor of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland. After the glorious treaty of Tilsit the ambition of the great conqueror was boundless. He wished then to enlarge his Empire by adding to it Portugal and Spain, and he acted with a duplicity unworthy of his wonderful genius. He took the pretext that Portugal would not act against the English as he wished, and he ordered Junot, one of his most devoted captains, to march through Spain and attack Portugal. In the meantime, he and the Spanish ambassador signed a treaty at Fontainebleau, on October 27, 1807, by which the dismemberment of Portugal should be

accomplished. A kingdom was to be created for the daughter of Charles, a principality for Godoy, and Napoleon was to dispose of the rest as he pleased. On the very day of the signing of this disgraceful treaty the King caused the heir to the throne to be arrested, and denounced him as plotting to dethrone and even to murder him. Charles was injudicious enough to notify Napoleon that he intended to change the order of succession, so that a younger brother of the Prince of the Asturias might succeed to the throne. The Emperor sent more troops to Portugal, and the Spanish people believed at first that the French soldiers were coming to the aid of the heir apparent, Ferdinand. The latter shamefully asked pardon of his father, who forgave him, on the advice of the Queen and of Godoy, who feared Napoleon, and the situation in Spain seemed to be normal once more.

The Emperor of the French persevered, however, in his plans of conquest, and in 1808, on the advance of Junot upon Lisbon, the royal family, the ministers, and the court, followed by about eight thousand persons, sailed for Brazil. French and Spanish troops occupied Portugal, and Charles IV asked for the execution of the secret treaty of partition of that kingdom, and solicited the hand of a member of the Bonaparte family for his son. Instead of acting as an ally Napoleon took possession of several Spanish citadels near the frontier and sent to Madrid his brother-in-law, Murat, as commander of the French troops in Spain. In the meantime the people of Madrid had marched in tumult to Aranjuez where was the royal family, and the King had been obliged to dismiss Godoy and to abdicate in favor of his son. When Murat arrived in the capital of Spain he was well received, as it was thought that he came to support Ferdinand. Soon, however, the situation became very critical: Charles IV once more denounced his son to Napoleon, and the latter summoned both kings to appear before him at Bayonne. On May 2, 1808, a riot broke out in Madrid, as it was thought that the youngest son of Charles IV was to be taken by force to his father, and several Frenchmen were killed. Murat

repressed severely the insurrection, and Napoleon took advantage of this event to terrify the old King, who ceded his crown to the French emperor. Ferdinand was also compelled to yield, and Napoleon put his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain.

Neither Joseph Bonaparte nor the great Emperor knew how tottering was the throne left vacant by the Bourbon kings. To the eternal glory of the Spaniards, be it said, they resisted most heroically the despotism of Napoleon and refused to submit to a foreign king imposed upon them. General Dupont was forced to capitulate at Baylen. Saragossa defended itself against the French as well as Saguntum, centuries before, against Hannibal and the Carthaginians; the English came to the help of the Portuguese and of the Spaniards, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, celebrated later as Lord Wellington, defeated the Emperor's marshals. Napoleon himself had entered Spain in 1809 and had overcome with ease all opposition from the Spaniards and from the English, but he had been obliged to run again to the Danube to humble Austria once more. He never could return to Spain, and finally Joseph was expelled, and Ferdinand became King, to rule as a Nero and to prove himself unworthy of the devotion of his people to him and of their wonderful patriotism.

The events in Spain had on New Spain an influence which we shall now relate. When the news of the disgraceful affair at Bayonne reached Mexico the municipal authorities or *Ayuntamiento* presented, on July 19, 1808, to viceroy Iturrigaray a memorial stating, that in the absence of the legitimate monarch the sovereignty resided in the people, and requesting the viceroy to remain in office and not surrender it to any foreign power, or to authorities in Spain if they were controlled by foreigners. The members of the *Audiencia* or *oidores* opposed the theory of the sovereignty reverting to the people in the absence of the King, and a proposition made by Verdad, syndic of the *Ayuntamiento,* for establishing a provisional government based on the above theory, was rejected at a *junta* held on August 9. The proposition

was declared to be seditious and heretical by the Spanish party represented by the *oidores,* the Archbishop and the inquisitors, while it was supported by the American or Creole party represented by the *Ayuntamiento* and by the viceroy. It would have established virtually the independence of New Spain under the rule of Iturrigaray who became, from that time, an object of suspicion to the Spanish party, although he seems to have been guided by purely selfish motives. The orders of the *junta* at Seville, which claimed to govern for Ferdinand, were disregarded by the viceroy who appeared disposed to call together a national congress of New Spain. The Spanish party, therefore, determined to act with energy, and formed a conspiracy against Iturrigaray. They chose as their chief a wealthy planter named Gabriel de Yermo, a native of Vizcaya, who had liberated many of his slaves and was popular and influential. He was a man of ability and courage, and acted with great promptness. He won over the palace guards, and on September 15, 1808, at midnight, the Volunteers of Fernando Séptimo, known later as the *Chaquetas,* entered the palace, opposed only by one sentinel, and captured the viceroy, who was found asleep. Iturrigaray was sent a prisoner to Vera Cruz, and then to Cadiz, while his successor was being elected by the Spanish party. Verdad and several of the former viceroy's partisans were imprisoned.

Pedro Garibay, the new viceroy elected by the *Chaquetas* and their friends, was a field marshal, aged seventy-nine. He was an honorable man but had little energy, and his election did not retard the revolutionary movement which had been started by the *Ayuntamiento.* The syndic of that body, Verdad, was secretly hanged in prison and is considered the first martyr for the cause of Mexican independence. The Spanish central *junta* at Aranjuez was recognized in Mexico in March, 1809, and appointed viceroy Archbishop Francisco Xavier Lizana y Beaumont, who ruled with little energy from July 19, 1809, to May 8, 1810. His successor, Francisco Xavier Venegas, was named by the Regency of Spain. In that kingdom a decree had been passed, on

January 22, 1809, recognizing the Spanish dominions in the Indies, not as colonies but as an integral part of the Spanish monarchy. The Creoles, however, were not to be admitted to the Córtes in the same ratio as the inhabitants of Spain, and the whole number of representatives from America was limited to twenty-eight. This inequality of treatment between Spain and her American dominions created great dissatisfaction in the former colonies, and the administration of Viceroy Venegas was marked by the beginning of the revolution for independence.

In September, 1809, there had been at Valladolid a plot for independence which had failed, and in the year 1810 the centre of action of the revolutionists was the town of Querétaro. Ignacio Allende was the moving spirit in the conspiracy and established in Querétaro a junta of which formed part the licentiates Parra, Laso, and Altamirano, Captains Aldama and Arias, Lieutenants Lanzagorta, Epigmenio and Emeterio Gonzalez, and a few others. The corregidor, Miguel Dominguez, secretly favored the movement. Allende was born in 1779 in San Miguel el Grande. He was a captain in the queen's dragoons in 1807, and after the encampment established by Iturrigaray at Jalapa was broken up, he returned to San Miguel and took an active part in the movement for independence. The plan of the revolutionists was to seize the principal Spaniards in the important towns and then to raise the banner of independence. The government to be established was to rule in the name of Ferdinand VII, but without recognizing any authority from Spain.

Although Allende seems to have been the chief spirit at the beginning of the revolution, he did not play later as great a part in it as the celebrated *cura* or parish priest of the town of Dolores, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. The latter was born on May 8, 1753, on the *rancho* or *hacienda* of San Vicente in Pénjamo, province of Guanajuato. His father, Cristóbal Hidalgo y Costilla, was born at Tejupilco in the intendancy of Mexico, and his mother was Ana Maria Gallaga. He was educated at the college of San Nicolás at

Valladolid, and distinguished himself there. He was ordained a priest in Mexico in 1778, and occupied several positions in the diocese of Valladolid until he succeeded his elder brother as *cura* of Dolores. There he was not satisfied with his pastoral duties, but he established a porcelain factory, grew silk worms, and made great improvements in his town. He was kind to the Indians, who were greatly attached to him, and he knew their language. He was a brave and enlightened man, and a worthy chief in a great and patriotic movement.

The time chosen for the uprising was during the great fair at San Juan de los Lagos, which was to open on the 8th of December. The revolutionists, however, were betrayed by some of their number, and the revolution began earlier than they had expected. At Guanajuato the band-master of the provincial infantry battalion, who had been bribed by Hidalgo, exposed the plot, on September 13, to his superior officer, who reported it to the intendant Riaño. Already, on August 11, intimation of the plot had been given to *oidor* Aguirre, but this official had merely given orders to watch the suspected persons. It was at Querétaro that the revolutionists ran the greatest danger. They were betrayed, on September 11, by Captain Arias, and denounced, on September 13, by a Spaniard named Bueras, and Corregidor Dominguez was compelled to arrest the accused, among whom were the brothers Epigmenio and Emeterio Gonzalez. The wife of the corregidor, by a preconcerted signal, three taps on the floor, informed Ignacio Perez, the alcaide, who resided in the same house with the corregidor, of the arrest of the conspirators, and Perez hurried to San Miguel to warn Allende. He found Aldama, but not Allende, who had gone to Dolores, on September 14, to see Hidalgo. On September 16, 1810, a day memorable in the history of Mexico, Aldama arrived at two o'clock in the morning at the house of the *cura,* and communicated the news from Querétaro. Hidalgo rose from his bed and said: "Gentlemen, we are lost; there is no other recourse but to seize the *gachupines.*" He sent

the street watchmen to call the workmen in his factories, and with them and his brother and other people of the town he liberated the prisoners from the jail and captured the principal Spaniards in Dolores. As it was Sunday Hidalgo addressed a large assemblage from the pulpit in the church and called upon them to defend their religion and their rights, which the Spaniards wished to surrender to Napoleon, together with New Spain. The brave priest was chosen leader by acclamation, and at noon, on September 16, four thousand men marched upon San Miguel, commanded by Hidalgo and Allende. On the way the small army stopped at the village of Atotonilco, and Hidalgo, having obtained a picture of the Virgin of Guadalupe, took it for the banner of the revolutionists, whose cry, the celebrated *grito de Dolores,* was henceforth to be, *"Viva nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, mueran los gachupines."*

The supreme command was entrusted to Hidalgo, who proceeded to organize his forces by the appointment of officers and by an attempt to institute military tactics. He took possession of San Miguel without any opposition, as the regular soldiers joined the revolutionists, and he made the Spaniards in the town prisoners. He then advanced against Celaya, which was abandoned by the officers of the troops stationed there and by the Europeans, and he entered the town on September 21, after having threatened to put to death the Spanish prisoners, if the place did not surrender. In Celaya the houses of the Europeans were pillaged by the army of the insurgents, who now numbered fifty thousand men, and who proclaimed Hidalgo Captain-General of America, while Allende was given the rank of lieutenant-general.

From Celaya the revolutionary army directed its march upon Santa Fé de Guanajuato, the capital of a wealthy mining district. That province had been conquered from the Chichimecs in 1531 by Nuño de Guzman, and in 1810 it was one of the most important parts of New Spain on account of its mines and agricultural products. The intendant Riaño determined to defend the city of Guanajuato, but

seeing that he could not depend upon the people, he withdrew with his soldiers and a few armed inhabitants to the granary or *alhondiga de granaditas,* where he placed a treasure worth three million pesos. On September 28 the insurgents entered the city and attacked the barricades which protected the *alhondiga.* The barricades were carried, the *alhondiga* was attacked, and Riaño was killed fighting valiantly. His death discouraged his men, and the city soon fell into the power of the revolutionists, who tarnished their victory by pillage and murder. Hidalgo had fought bravely, but he did not seem at first to be able or to care to curb the excesses of his troops, among whom were many Indians. He endeavored later to stop the pillage, but to no avail, as Guanajuato was sacked by his men.

The insurrection had now become so formidable that viceroy Venegas deemed it expedient to make great efforts to crush the movement. The troops under his command were not numerous and were composed mainly of natives, or Creoles. The highest officers were Spaniards, but those of lower rank were natives of New Spain. The situation was therefore critical. Venegas ordered General Calleja del Rey to march from San Luis Potosi against the insurgents, and Colonel Manuel de Flon, Count de la Cadena, was sent with a regiment from Mexico to Querétaro. Battalions of volunteers were raised, and Yermo, who had captured viceroy Iturrigaray, equipped from among his laborers five hundred cavalrymen. A price of ten thousand pesos each was put upon the heads of Hidalgo, Allende, and Aldama, and the Archbishop and the bishops excommunicated Hidalgo and all who would follow him. The Inquisition also summoned the priest-general to appear before it, on charges of heresy and apostasy, and the loyalist press heaped abuses of all sorts upon the revolutionists. Hidalgo issued a proclamation in his defense and told his compatriots to open their eyes and not to listen to the seductive voices of their enemies who, under the veil of religion and friendship, wished to make the natives victims of their greed. He asked whence had come

that new dogma, that new article of faith propounded by the Spanish party. At Valladolid, which he entered without resistance, he ordered the emancipation of slaves and abolished the payment of tribute. He obtained large sums of money in the town and prepared to march against the city of Mexico. He was, at that time, proclaimed generalissimo; Allende, Captain-General; and Aldama, Ballerza, Jimenez, and Joaquin Arias, lieutenant-generals. Hidalgo's army numbered, on October 20, 1810, when he left Valladolid, eighty thousand men, mostly a disorderly mass.

Viceroy Venegas sent General Torcuato Trujillo with about three thousand men to oppose Hidalgo on his march against the capital. The two armies met, on October 30, at a mountain pass called the Monte de las Cruces, six leagues from Mexico. There a terrible battle took place. Trujillo made great havoc with his artillery in the ranks of the revolutionists, but the latter by superior numbers drove the royalists from their position and remained masters of the field. The victory was so dearly bought that Hidalgo did not dare to attack Mexico immediately, as advised by Allende, but he halted at Cuajimalpa, and on November 2 retreated on Querétaro. It is very likely that he might have captured the capital without much trouble, but he lost his chance of success by his lack of decision after the battle of Las Cruces. In that engagement a young officer named Iturbide had served on the side of the royalists. He was destined to accomplish an extraordinary career.

In the city of Mexico there was great confusion and apprehension, and the viceroy thought for a moment of retiring to Vera Cruz. He remained, however, in the capital and prepared to defend it against the revolutionists. He had the image of the Virgin of Los Remedios transferred from Totoltepec to the cathedral in Mexico, and there, kneeling before it, and "invoking its aid, Venegas placed in its hands his viceregal staff of office, and solemnly hailed it as lady captain-general of the army." A sacred banner was erected by the royalists bearing the image of *Nuestra Señora de los*

*Remedios.* This banner was to counteract the influence of the sacred standard of the insurgents, which bore the image of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.* While measures of defense were being taken in the capital Hidalgo had been met on his march upon Querétaro by the royalist general, Calleja, and routed at Aculco, on November 7, 1810. He went then to Valladolid, and on November 26 entered Guadalajara, the capital of New Galicia, called thither by the insurgent captain, José Antonio Torres, who had defeated a royalist force at the battle of Zacoalco. At Guadalajara Hidalgo appointed two ministers, José Maria Chico and Ignacio López Rayón, the one as minister of justice, and the other as secretary of state. He abolished slavery and payment of tribute in New Galicia as he had done in the province of Guanajuato, and he sent to the United States, to solicit aid, a commissioner who, however, never reached his destination. In the meantime Allende had retired to the town of Guanajuato, after the defeat at Las Cruces, and he was attacked by the royalist forces on November 25. He was forced to retreat, and on his leaving the town the populace broke into the *alhondiga,* where were imprisoned two hundred and forty-eight Spaniards, and massacred one hundred and thirty-eight of the prisoners. The royalist commanders, Flon and Calleja, entered Guanajuato soon after the massacre, and Calleja avenged it in a terrible manner. For a time there was an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, then an execution in the *alhondiga* of twenty-three prominent men, and at nightfall the hanging in the public square of eighteen more. Finally Calleja pardoned the unfortunate inhabitants of the town, which, however, was depopulated and ruined for a long time. The insurgents, in their turn, executed the Spanish prisoners, without mercy, whenever they had the opportunity to do so.

A new general, José de la Cruz, arrived from Spain, and he was sent from Mexico against the insurgents, with Trujillo, the victor of Las Cruces, as his second. He captured Valladolid and prepared to join Calleja in an attack against

Hidalgo at Guadalajara, but he was stopped on the way by Colonel Ruperto Mier, who was posted in a strong position four leagues from Zamora. Although Cruz was victorious, he was detained long enough to be prevented from taking part in the battle which was fought at Calderon between Hidalgo and Calleja.

After his defeat at Guanajuato Allende went to Zacatecas and thence to Guadalajara, where he joined Hidalgo. The latter's army was large, numbering eighty thousand men, according to Bancroft, but thirty thousand according to Verdía. They were poorly armed, many of the foot soldiers having only the sling and the bow, and the cannon, of which there were ninety-five, were of very inferior quality. Indeed many were made of wood bound with iron hoops. The cavalry was not better armed than the infantry, a few horsemen had sabres, but most of them had lances and lassoes. Nearly all the men were miserably dressed, and the discipline of the army was very poor. Hidalgo left Guadalajara and took up a strong position at the bridge of Calderon. There he was attacked on January 17, 1811, by Calleja and Manuel de Flon, Count de la Cadena, and completely routed. The royalist army consisted of six thousand men, of whom one-half were cavalry, and it had ten pieces of artillery. It was far inferior in numbers to Hidalgo's forces, but was perfectly disciplined. Colonel Flon was killed in the pursuit of the insurgents, whose loss was immense, while that of the royalists hardly amounted to two hundred men killed and wounded.

Calleja entered Guadalajara and was joined by General Cruz, who set out almost immediately to pacify New Galicia. The defeated chiefs of the revolutionists met at the hacienda del Pabellon, and there Allende, Aldama, Abasolo and other leaders made Hidalgo resign his position as generalissimo in favor of Allende, who was considered abler in military matters than Hidalgo. The insurgents proceeded then to Zacatecas, and Allende decided to go to Saltillo to the aid of Jimenez. On the way he heard of the victories of the latter

over Ochoa and Cordero, victories which were of little assistance to the cause of the revolutionists, which was so desperate that the leaders thought of going to the United States to solicit aid. Ignacio Aldama, who had been elected as minister plenipotentiary to the United States, was arrested at Bejar in Texas, and shot with Father Salazar, at Monclova, in Coahuila. On March 21, 1811, the principal revolutionary leaders were seized treacherously, at Acatita de Bajan, by Colonel Ignacio Elizondo, who had invited them to meet him. They were taken first to Monclova and then to Chihuahua, where they were tried and condemned to death. Allende, Juan Aldama, and Jimenez were shot, on July 26, Hidalgo on July 30, and a little later thirty of the other chiefs of the insurgents. Iriarte had escaped from the snare set by Elizondo and had been executed by Rayón, by order of Allende. Abasalo acted as informer at the trial of his companions, and was sent to Spain, where he died in prison. Among the leaders who were executed were Mariano Hidalgo, brother of the *cura,* and Chico, his minister of justice. The heads of Hidalgo, Allende, Aldama, and Jimenez were sent to Guanajuato and placed in iron cages in the *alhondiga,* which had been the scene of so many dreadful deeds. They remained at that town until the year 1821, when they were interred with the bodies of the patriots in the chapel of Los Reyes, in the cathedral of Mexico, at the very place where were buried the viceroys of New Spain, and where were interred later the presidents of the republic. The Mexicans could not do too much honor to the memory of the valiant men who had begun the struggle for independence and had rendered possible what might have seemed only an heroic dream, when Hidalgo had called upon the natives of New Spain to follow the banner of the Our Lady of Guadalupe. The *grito de Dolores* was not uttered in vain, and the cry for independence was echoed again and again in the country after the death of the patriots of 1810.

Ygnacio Comonfort, provisional president of Mexico, December 11, 1855, and constitutional president, March 11, 1857.

## CHAPTER IX

### *INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED*

The capture of Hidalgo and his valiant companions had not put an end to the movement for independence. Ignacio López Rayón, who had been named captain-general by the great chiefs of the Revolution, continued the war against the royalists. He defeated Ochoa and Zambrano and entered Zacatecas, which he soon left on the approach of the enemy; was routed by Emparan and routed him in his turn, attacked Valladolid unsuccessfully and, at Zitácuaro, in Michoacan, established on August 19, 1811, a supreme national junta, composed of himself, Liceaga, and the cura Verduzco. The junta was a form of government, and although not recognized by all the insurgents, it gave an appearance of legality to the Revolution.

While Rayón was continuing to some extent the work of Hidalgo, there arose in the south another leader, far abler than he, to take the place of the heroic cura of Dolores. José Maria Morelos was born, on September 30, 1765, at the rancho Tahuejo el Chico, near Apatzingan, and not at Valladolid, which, in 1828, was named Morelia in his honor. His father, Manuel Morelos, was a carpenter, and his mother, Juana Pavón, was the daughter of a schoolmaster at Valladolid. His parents were poor, and, at the death of his father, he entered the service of his uncle Philip, who had a mule train, and did business between Mexico

and Acapulco. At the age of twenty-five he succeeded in entering the college of San Nicolás, as a *capense* or sizar, and studied philosophy under Hidalgo. After completing his college course he became a priest and realized an ambition which he had had for many years. He was appointed ad interim to the *curato* of Churumuco and Huacana, and then to that of Carácuaro and Nucupétaro, which position he was occupying when the Revolution broke out at Dolores in September, 1810. In October Morelos met Hidalgo at the town of Charo and offered him his services, which were accepted. He was sent to the southern coast of the Pacific with instructions to endeavor to take possession of the port of Acapulco.

Morelos started from Carácuaro on his momentous career with twenty-five followers. He went to Zacatula, where his force was increased, then to Tecpán, where he was joined by three brothers who became important officers: Juan José, Antonio, and Hermenegildo Galeana. At Aguacatillo the forces of the insurgents numbered three thousand men and formed an army and not a rabble, as were often Hidalgo's troops. At Veladero an engagement took place, and Morelos won the field only because his men stopped fleeing sooner than the royalists. After several minor combats Avila, a lieutenant of Morelos, defeated Francisco París, and the insurgent chief marched on Acapulco. He was deceived by an officer named Gago, who had agreed to surrender the fort for a sum of money, and was forced to retire before the advance of Cosío, the royalist commander in the South. His career was now interrupted for some time by sickness, and his lieutenants, Hermenegildo Galeana and Avila, resisted successfully attacks from Cosío, and Fuentes, the latter's successor. On the return of Morelos he succeeded in entering the town of Chilpancingo, at the head of six hundred well-armed men, and there four distinguished patriots joined his cause. They were the brothers Leonardo, Miguel, and Victor Bravo, and Nicolás, the son of Leonardo. The insurgent chief made then a vigorous

campaign and took possession of Tixtla, where, on August 17, 1811, he routed Fuentes. He next entered Chilapa and executed Gago, who had betrayed him at Acapulco. He suppressed with great energy an insurrection headed by Faro, Tabares, and Mayo and caused these men to be executed. He was accused of having acted on that occasion with duplicity, a charge which can hardly be proved, when we consider with what irregularity war is conducted in times of insurrection.

As the supreme junta had been established by Rayón at Zitácuaro, Viceroy Venegas determined to take possession of that town and sent General Calleja to attack it. The latter left Guanajuato on November 11, 1811, and had to overcome great difficulties on his march, advancing so slowly in a rugged defile that it took him eight days to accomplish twelve leagues. On January 1, 1812, he appeared before Zitácuaro, and the next day he captured that place, which he condemned to destruction. The town was sacked, and all the buildings razed to the ground, with the exception of the churches and convents. It seems that Rayón did not defend himself with energy. Morelos and his lieutenants, on the contrary, had been successful in their engagements with the enemy, and after having defeated Porlier at Tenancingo, on January 23, the valiant cura retired to Cuautla de Amilpas, which he fortified strongly. There he was attacked on February 18, by Calleja, Llano, and Porlier, and although he defended himself heroically, he was forced to abandon the town on May 2. In sustaining this memorable siege Morelos had been well seconded by his able and faithful lieutenants, Hermenegildo Galeana, the Bravos, and the cura Mariano Matamoros. Cuautla bears now the name of its heroic defender in 1812. Just as heroic were his lieutenants, for Leonardo Bravo, having been taken prisoner and condemned to death, was offered his pardon by Venegas, if his son Nicolás would abandon the cause of the revolutionists, but neither the father nor the son would consent to an infamy, and Leonardo Bravo was executed. Nicolás

had three hundred royalist prisoners whom Morelos authorized him to put to death to avenge his father. The generous young chief, however, told his prisoners that he would not imitate the base conduct of the viceroy, and he set them all free. This chivalric deed is known in the history of Mexico as a *venganza insurgente,* an "insurgent vengeance."

Morelos was not discouraged by his defeat at Cuautla, and was successful at Orizaba in October, and at Oaxaca in November, 1812. He defeated at the latter place General Saravia and took possession of the town. This event probably hastened the fall of Venegas, who was superseded as viceroy, on February 13, 1813, by General Felix María Calleja del Rey. The new viceroy displayed great energy in attacking and defeating in the north some of the principal chiefs of the insurgents, while Morelos succeeded in capturing Acapulco on August 19, 1813. Shortly after that success, Morelos saw that the bonds of union between the revolutionists were not sufficiently strong, and he caused delegates to a Congress to be elected in the provinces which were in the power of the insurgents, and he appointed himself the delegates from the provinces occupied by the Spaniards. The Congress met at Chilpancingo, on September 14, with the following members: Ignacio L. Rayón, José Sixto Verduzco, José María Liceaga, José María Murguía, representing respectively New Galicia, Michoacan, Guanajuato, and Oaxaca; José Manuel Herrera, representing Tecpán; Carlos María Bustamante, Andrés Quintana Ros, and Dr. José María Cos, chosen by Morelos to represent Mexico, Puebla, and Vera Cruz. Murguía soon resigned his position and was succeeded by Manuel Sabino Crespo.

On November 6, 1813, the Congress issued its memorable declaration of independence, which we here translate: "The Congress of Anáhuac, installed legitimately in the city of Chilpancingo in North America by its provinces, declares solemnly in the presence of the Lord God, arbiter of powers and author of society, who gives and takes away according to the inscrutable designs of his Providence, that,

owing to the present conditions in Europe, it has recovered the exercise of its usurped sovereignty; that, accordingly its dependence upon the Spanish throne remains forever broken and dissolved: that it is competent to establish the laws which please it, for the best government and interior felicity; to make war and peace and establish alliance with the monarchs and republics of the old continent, no less than to make concordats with the Supreme Roman pontiff for the direction of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, and send ambassadors and consuls; that it professes and recognizes no other religion than the Catholic, and will neither permit nor tolerate the public or secret practice of any other; that it will protect it with all its power, and will watch over the purity of the faith and its dogmas and the preservation of the regular bodies. It declares as guilty of high treason any one who will oppose directly or indirectly its independence, or protecting the European oppressors by work, word or writing, neglecting to contribute to the expenses, subsidies and pensions to continue the war, until its independence be recognized by the foreign nations: the Congress reserving for itself the right to present to them, by means of a ministerial note, which will circulate in all the cabinets, the manifesto of its complaints and the justice of this resolution, recognized already by Europe itself." Already, in 1812, the Córtes, opposed to French rule in Spain, had given to the monarchy a liberal constitution which guaranteed to the provinces equality of representation with Spain. These concessions, however, had come too late, and the revolutionary spirit in the colonies could no longer be restrained.

We shall now relate the last campaigns of Morelos, who determined, after the declaration of independence at Chilpancingo, to attempt the capture of Valladolid. On December 22, 1813, he presented himself before that town with a large army. He had with him his brave lieutenants Matamoros, Nicolás Bravo, and Galeana, and he hoped to take possession of Valladolid, which was defended by a feeble garrison, before Calleja should send reënforcements to the

royalists. The viceroy, however, was prepared to counteract all the movements of the insurgents, and he sent to the aid of Valladolid the army of the north commanded by Llano and Iturbide. The latter defeated Ramon Rayón on their march, and repulsed, on December 23, the forces of Galeana and Bravo which were already attacking one of the gates of the city. The next day Iturbide, with three hundred and sixty horsemen, dashed into the army of the insurgents and threw it into such disorder that, in the darkness, the revolutionists attacked one another and suffered heavy losses. They were greatly demoralized, and on January 5, 1814, were totally routed by Llano and Iturbide. The valiant Matamoros was taken prisoner and shot at Valladolid on February 3. His name is borne by an important port on the Gulf of Mexico. His death was a great loss to the cause of independence which from that time, suffered constant reverses. The south was invaded by the royalists, Acapulco was set on fire by the insurgents and abandoned, Oaxaca was occupied by the royalists, Galeana and Miguel Bravo were shot, and the Congress had to flee from one place to another, as formerly the supreme junta established by Ignacio Rayón.

In the meantime Ferdinand VII had been restored to the throne of the Bourbons in March, 1814, and had, on May 4, annulled the constitution of 1812. The news of the king's despotic action reached Mexico in August and created great discontent among many of the royalists. The latter, in the colonies and in Spain, were soon to learn how despicable was the monarch for whom his subjects had undergone such terrible sufferings and whose cause they had sustained with such heroism. Well could the great orator, Emilio Castelar, say of the Spanish Nero that there never was known a king as cruel as Ferdinand VII, and that he was more the enemy of the Spanish people than were the vanquished foreigners. He had, while dethroned by Napoleon, congratulated him on his victories; he had solicited a decoration from Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain; he had, at

sumptuous feasts, drunk to the health of "our august sovereigns, the great Napoleon and María Luisa, his august spouse."

Such a sovereign could not restore to their loyalty to the Spanish crown the men who had been fighting energetically in New Spain for independence for the last four years, and, on October 22, 1814, at Apatzingan, the Congress of the revolutionists proclaimed a constitution for Mexican America, which was divided into seventeen inseparable provinces: Mexico, Puebla, Ttlascala, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, Oaxaca, Tecpán, Michoacan, Querétaro, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Potosi, Zacatecas, Durango, Sonora, Coahuila, and Nuevo Reyno de León. One deputy was to be elected from each province, and the sovereignty was vested in the Congress. "This body elects the members of the other two powers, the supreme government and supreme court of justice, together with a residencia tribunal for trying charges against all the supreme officials. The executive shall consist of three members, equal in authority, alternating in the presidency every four months, and holding office for three years. They are to be assisted by three secretaries, for war, finance, and government, and in the provinces by intendentes, appointed for three years, and presiding over the financial boards which form branches of an intendencia general at the capital. Administration of justice is to centre in a supreme court of five judges, chosen like the executive, and retiring gradually within five years. So long as any province is occupied by the enemy, existing deputies select a suplente to represent it. Peace once established, a formally elected congress shall assume the sovereignty and adopt the present or a new constitution, and establish the laws, local governments, and other features so far left unchanged." Liceaga, Morelos, and Cos formed the executive branch of the government, with the first named as president. A commemorative medal was struck, and Morelos is said to have danced for joy on the day of the installation of the government. The support of the United States was sought, and great joy

was manifested on the arrival of General Humbert at Nautla in June, 1814. Humbert came from New Orleans and had been a distinguished French officer during the wars of the revolutionary period in France. He was not able to accomplish anything in Mexico for the cause of independence, which was not successful in 1814 and 1815.

The Congress of the insurgents believed that it would be more secure from the attacks of the royalists if it could meet at Tehuacán, beyond the mountains, and Morelos agreed to lead the march from Uruapán. On November 5, 1815, he was met by Colonel Concha, at Tesmalaca, and his forces were completely defeated and he himself captured. The valiant leader of the revolutionists was taken to Mexico, on November 22, amidst the rejoicings of the royalists, and he was judged both by the military tribunal and by the inquisition and condemned to death. He was shot on December 22, 1815, at San Cristóbal Ecatepec, a village at a short distance from Mexico city. Morelos, like Hidalgo, was fearless and did not hesitate to resort to extreme measures, such as burnings of towns and executions of prisoners, when he believed such measures to be necessary to the success of his cause. After his capture, on being asked by Colonel Villasena what he would have done with the royalist officers if he had made them prisoners, he replied: "I would have given them two hours to prepare for death and then I would have shot them." Morelos was an abler ruler than Hidalgo and was as patriotic. It was during his supremacy as leader of the revolutionists that the celebrated declaration of independence was issued, and he deserved well of his countrymen. He continued the work of Hidalgo, and he carried the revolution to such a point that the failure of the great movement for independence was no longer possible.

The Congress, for which Morelos sacrificed his life, arrived at Tehuacán, on November 16, 1815, under the protection of Guerrero, and, on December 15, it was dissolved by one of the insurgent leaders, Manuel de Mier y Teran, as not having been sanctioned by popular election. Teran

substituted for it a provisional executive commission, of which he was one of the members, but the commission was not recognized by the other leaders who, after the death of Morelos, disagreed with one another more than ever. The principal chiefs at that time were Teran, Guerrero, Alvarez, Victoria, Nicolás Bravo, Ramon and Ignacio Rayón, Rosales, and Osorno. Rosains, who had been a favorite of Hidalgo, made his submission to the royalists, as well as Aguilar, and a little later Ramon Rayón and several other commanders of the insurgent forces. Viceroy Calleja had nearly crushed the insurrection when he was recalled to Spain, received with honors and given the title of Count de Calderón on account of his victory over Hidalgo. He was an energetic and able man, but was very severe in his dealings with the insurgents, and he has been called by the Mexicans the "wild beast." His successor, Juan Ruiz de Apodaca was as able and energetic as Calleja, but much milder. He was a lieutenant-general, and had been ambassador to England and captain-general of Cuba. He took possession of his office on September 19, 1816, and prosecuted the war against the revolutionists with such diligence that in a short time he seemed to have quelled the insurrection. In 1816, the year of Apodaca's arrival, the Jesuits came back to Mexico, where even the revolutionary Congress had expressed a desire for their return as teachers and missionaries.

The cause of the revolution seemed to be desperate in the beginning of the year 1817, but just as Hidalgo's banner with the sacred image had been raised again, after that leader's death, by Morelos and carried to victory, so was it to pass from the hands of the latter into those of another daring chief, until it was planted firmly in the very centre of the capital of Mexican America. The successor of Morelos in daring and skill was Francisco Javier Mina, whose short career as a revolutionary chief was brilliant and chivalric. Born in the mountains of Navarre, in 1789, Mina abandoned his studies at the University of Saragossa, in 1808, to take part in the resistance against the French invasion, and he

became celebrated as a guerrilla leader in the patriotic war against the foreigners. On the return of Ferdinand to Spain Mina joined the movement of the liberals to resist the king's despotism, and he was forced to flee from his country. He went to England and resolved to go to the aid of the men who were fighting for their independence in New Spain. He obtained the help of a few Englishmen, and having provided a ship he sailed from Liverpool in May, 1816. He went first to the United States, where he chartered three small vessels and enlisted recruits, principally at Baltimore, and sailed for Galveston, stopping on the way at Port au Prince. At Galveston he received reënforcements from Commodore Aury, a French freebooter whom Herrera, the envoy of the insurgents to the United States, had named governor of Texas. With seven vessels he reached the river Santander, on April 15, 1817, and a week later arrived at Soto la Marina. There he built an adobe fort of which he gave the command to Major Sarda, and he advanced boldly into the interior of the country.

At Valle del Maiz he repulsed Captain Villaseñor, and, on June 15, routed a force much larger than his own and commanded by Colonel Armiñan. He next captured and sacked the town of Pinos and succeeded in reaching Fort Sombrero, in Guanajuato, where was one of the principal insurgent chiefs, Pedro Moreno. He was again successful in an engagement with Ordoñez, but was repulsed in an attack on the city of León. He then entered Fort Sombrero, and he, Moreno, and the American Colonel Young, defended themselves heroically with 650 men against 4,000 men under General Liñan. Mina succeeded in escaping from the fort, but Colonel Young was killed, and, in a sally under Moreno, the besieged were cut to pieces. Mina endeavored afterwards without success to relieve the strong Fort de los Remedios which was besieged by the royalists, took possession of San Luis de la Paz, and returned a second time to Los Remedios. He was met and defeated by Colonel Orrantia, pursued by him and finally captured, early in

the morning of October 27, at the ranch of Venadito, in a house where he was resting, having separated himself from his men for the first time, in the belief that his pursuers were far away. Moreno was killed in trying to escape, and Mina was taken to General Liñan, who had him shot, on November 11, 1817, on a hill fronting the Fort de Los Remedios. His first fort at Soto la Marina had already fallen into the power of the royalists, and Los Remedios, which was defended by Father Torres, had the same fate not long after the death of Mina. The valiant Navarrese, like Hidalgo and Morelos, had apparently been unsuccessful, but the cause for which those heroes perished was shortly to triumph in an unexpected manner.

From the end of 1817 to the year 1820 the insurgents suffered continuous disasters: Nicolás Bravo was defeated at the hill of Cóporo, on December 1, 1817, and captured on December 22, and Ignacio Rayón and Verduzco, members of the first insurgent junta, were also made prisoners. Their lives were spared by Viceroy Apodaca, and they were finally liberated in 1820. The loss of Bravo was almost irreparable, but fortunately Vicente Guerrero continued in the south the struggle for independence. Everywhere the revolutionists were unfortunate: the members of the junta of Jaujilla were dispersed, captured, or shot, although they had taken refuge in a fort which was situated on a rock in the lake of Zacapo, and many of the principal insurgents accepted pardon from the viceroy. A notable exception to these acts of weakness was Manuel Felix Fernandez, named by himself Guadalupe Victoria, who suffered greatly in the mountains rather than submit to the royalists.

The consummation of the independence of Mexico was due to an event which took place in Spain, a revolution which broke out in 1820, owing to the despotism of Ferdinand VII, and which restored the liberal constitution of 1812. The Córtes were convened by the king, and they closed the convents, abolished the Inquisition, and established the liberty of the press, and the right to hold popular

meetings and form political clubs. The constitution was well received in Mexico, in general, by the Creoles, and it seemed as if this instrument were to bind the colonies more closely to Spain. The opposite, however, was the result, for the former Spanish party seeing that, with the new constitution, their influence would disappear, preferred to favor a movement for independence which they might control and direct. Therefore meetings were held at the Church of the Profesa in the city of Mexico, and a plan was adopted to accomplish the independence of Mexico. The pretext of some of the conspirators was that Ferdinand had been compelled to accept the constitution, and that he should be offered a refuge in the New World. A military leader was needed to carry out the plot, and Colonel Agustín de Iturbide was chosen. We have already seen that name in the history of the revolution in Mexico, in the events of which Iturbide had played an important part as one of the most redoubtable of the enemies of the insurgents. He had vanquished them in many battles and had treated them relentlessly on all occasions, and it is one of the most curious facts in history that the man who opposed so vigorously the great movement for liberty undertaken by Hidalgo and Morelos should have become the Liberator par excellence.

Agustín de Iturbide was born at Valladolid on September 27, 1783. His father was a Spaniard and his mother a Mexican. Although called a Creole, he was really a Mestizo. He was handsome and of winning address and of great bravery, and was surely well fitted for the part which he was to play in the history of his country. Through the help of Canon Matías Monteagudo he obtained the command of the army of the South and left the capital in November, 1820, to subdue Guerrero and *pacify the whole kingdom,* as he said. At first he was not successful in his operations against the insurgents, and he opened relations with Guerrero, who agreed to support his plan. Therefore, on February 24, 1821, Iturbide issued his celebrated "Plan de Iguala," by which the independence of Mexico was finally

established. The following are the principal clauses of the plan:

The Roman Catholic religion was to be the only one tolerated. New Spain was to have absolute independence. The form of government was to be a constitutional monarchy, of which the emperor would be Ferdinand VII who should present himself to occupy the throne. Pending the meeting of the Córtes a junta was to provide for the fulfillment of the plan and govern if the Emperor did not come. All inhabitants, whether white, African, or Indian were qualified to hold office. An army to be called "Army of the three Guaranties" was to be created. The three guaranties were symbolized in the flag adopted: green, independence; white, religion; and red, union. The troops at Iguala swore to support the plan, and Iturbide addressed a communication to Viceroy Apodaca informing him of what had happened, sending him a list of the proposed members of the junta, and offering him the presidency of that body. Apodaca refused to listen to those propositions and endeavored to oppose the plan. He was, however, deposed on July 5, by the army in Mexico, commanded by Francisco Buceli, and replaced temporarily by General Pedro Novella. He had governed five years with wisdom and courage and deserved a better fate. On July 30, a new viceroy arrived at Vera Cruz. It was General Juan O'Donojú, the sixty-fourth and last viceroy of New Spain.

Since the proclamation of the plan at Iguala the cause of independence had made great progress, and Iturbide had gained to it such men as Anastasio Bustamante, Santa Anna, and Negrete, and his forces had occupied Guanajuato, Guadalajara, Valladolid, Querétaro, and many other places of importance. From Puebla Iturbide entered into relations with O'Donojú, and had a conference with him at Córdoba, on August 24, 1821, where the viceroy agreed to accept with slight changes the plan of Iguala as being the only means of preserving New Spain for Ferdinand. O'Donojú acted wisely in accepting a condition of things which he could not

control, but the chance of a Bourbon prince reigning over Mexico was very slim, as it had been stipulated that the Córtes should designate a monarch, in default of a member of the royal family. The *ejercito trigarante,* or army of the three guaranties, marched on the capital, which was evacuated by the royal forces by the orders of O'Donojú, and on September 27, 1821, Iturbide entered Mexico city in triumph at the head of his troops. The independence of New Spain was thus accomplished, but not as Hidalgo and especially Morelos had planned it. They wanted a democratic form of government, and it was an empire which was established in 1821. It is true that this empire was short-lived, but it had diverted the original plan of the revolutionists, and when it was followed by a republic it left its unfortunate impress on the country in the form of anarchy and absolutism.

## CHAPTER X

### *THE FIRST EMPIRE AND THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC*

THE Regency or provisional government provided for by the plan of Iguala was composed of Iturbide as president, and of O'Donojú, Manuel de la Barcena, José Isidro Yañez, and Manuel Velazquez de León. The ministers were chosen from the new party of Independents, and the old revolutionary chiefs were ignored. On October 8, 1821, the former viceroy O'Donojú died, and Iturbide appointed in his place the Bishop of Puebla, Joaquín Otón Pérez. The "Liberator" was preparing his own accession to the throne of Mexico, since the Spanish Córtes had not approved the treaty of Córdoba made between O'Donojú and Iturbide. On the assembling of a constituent Congress, on February 24, 1822, the "Borbonistas" and the "Republicans" seemed to be in a majority, and they deposed as members of the Regency, Pérez, Bárcena, and Velázquez de León, and put in their places Nicolás Bravo, the Count de Heras Soto, and Miguel Valentín. On May 18, however, Pío Marcha, a sergeant in the First Regiment of Infantry, led a movement in favor of Iturbide as emperor. He was seconded by Colonel Epitacío Sánchez, of the Horse Guards, and the movement soon spread over the whole city, where there were illuminations, salvos of artillery, and ringing of bells. Early the next morning the Congress met in the midst of a turbulent crowd favorable to Iturbide, and the latter was elected emperor by a vote of seventy-seven to fifteen. On July 21,

1822, he was crowned in the cathedral and assumed the title of "Agustín I."

The new emperor was not an ordinary man, but he was neither a great captain nor a great statesman, and he was unable to give to Mexico the institutions which Bonaparte, the First Consul, had given France and which had made it prosperous. Iturbide displayed a regal pomp which appeared somewhat ridiculous in a parvenu devoid of genius, and wished to govern almost as an autocrat. He soon disagreed with the Constituent Congress and dissolved that body on October 31. A formidable opposition then arose against him: Epitacio Sánchez was defeated by Guerrero and killed, and Nicolás Bravo and Guadalupe Victoria led revolts against the emperor. The old revolutionists joined Antonio López de Santa Anna and the "Plan de Casa Mata" was promulgated, February 1, 1823, by which a new Congress was to be called and a republican form of government guaranteed. Iturbide tried to placate the feeling against him by recalling the Congress which he had dissolved, but the members of that body, of whom many had been imprisoned by him, continued their opposition to him, and although he could have resisted his enemies by force of arms he preferred to retire from his office rather than shed the blood of his countrymen in a civil war. He abdicated on March 19, 1823, but the Congress refused to accept the abdication as it declared that the coronation of Iturbide had been accomplished by force and violence and was null. Finally, however, the ex-emperor was allowed to leave the country, and on April 11, 1823, he set sail at La Antigua for Leghorn. The Congress which had not accepted his resignation awarded him a pension of 25,000 pesos, "as a reward for his great services to the country."

The government which succeeded Iturbide's empire was supposed to be a republic, and a *Poder Ejecutivo* was created. It was composed of three generals, Pedro Celestino Negrete, Nicolás Bravo, and Guadalupe Victoria, who were all absent at that time from the capital. The most important

Stephen F. Austin.

*From the original painting in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.*

minister, that of Foreign and Domestic Relations, was the celebrated historian, Lucas Alamán, who although of monarchical opinions, was probably the ablest statesman in Mexico. Little ability was shown in financial matters, and the money derived from a loan contracted in London was spent most unwisely. Politically as little wisdom was displayed, and on April 28, 1824, the Congress issued a decree which declared Iturbide a traitor and condemned him to death should he ever return to Mexico. This decree had been brought about by insurrections in favor of the former emperor who was then living in London. Ignorant of the action taken against him, Iturbide sailed from Southampton on May 11 and landed at Soto la Marina on July 14. His purpose, on returning to his country, was to defend it against the attacks of the Holy Alliance, and the sad fate which awaited him on his native land was totally undeserved and unjust. He was accompanied on his voyage from Europe by his wife and his two young children, by his nephew Ramon Molo, by several priests and by the Polish colonel Beneski. General Garza allowed the party to land, and Iturbide was arrested and taken to Padilla, where the Congress of Tamaulipas met and decided to execute the decree of the 11th of April. Iturbide was informed of the condemnation which had been pronounced against him and was shot at Padilla on July 19, 1824, at six o'clock in the evening. He gave patriotic advice to his countrymen and died with great courage. His death was an act of base ingratitude and will ever be a stain on the escutcheon of Mexico, although a pension was given later to his family and his body was deposited with solemnity in the cathedral at the capital on August 6, 1838. His repentant countrymen have inscribed on the sarcophagus of Iturbide the words, "The Liberator," a meagre reward for his services and a small atonement for his barbarous execution.

Before the death of Iturbide the independence of Mexico and of the other colonies which had revolted against Spain in the New World had been practically assured by the United

States, for on December 2, 1823, President Monroe, in a message to Congress, had formulated the proud doctrine which bears his name and which has, ever since, prevented any European power from interfering with the governments established on the American continents "for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny." In 1824, after having summarily got rid of their former emperor, the Mexicans endeavored to organize a true republican form of government. Two political parties sprang up: that of the "Centralists," improperly called *Borbonistas,* of whom Negrete, Bravo, Bustamante, and Mier y Teran, were the leaders, and the party of the "Federalists," led by Victoria and Guerrero. The latter were in the majority, and it was chiefly they who framed the Republican Constitution which was proclaimed on October 4, 1824, with great enthusiasm. That instrument was a close imitation of the Constitution of the United States, but had no clauses establishing trial by jury and publicity in administering justice, and was most intolerant in religious matters, inasmuch as it forbade the practice of any other religion except the Catholic, which was declared "to be perpetually the religion of the Mexican people." The powers of the government were divided into three branches: the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. The legislative power was vested in a congress consisting of a house of representatives and a senate; the executive, in a president, and a vice-president, in case the president should be disqualified; the judicial was vested in a supreme court of justice and in superior courts of departments and districts. The election of president and vice-president was made by the congresses of the states of the Republic, and neither official could be re-elected before four years had elapsed after his term had expired.

The new Republic was composed of the states of Chiapas, Chihuahua, Cohahuila and Texas, Durango, Guanajuato, Mexico, Michoacán, Nuevo León, Oaxaca, Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis Potosi, Sonora and Sinaloa, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, Vera Cruz, Jalisco, Yucatan and Zacatecas, and of the

territories of Upper and Lower California, Colima, Santa Fé de Nuevo Mexico, and Ttlascala; in all, nineteen states and five territories. Manuel Felix Fernandez, who had named himself Guadalupe Victoria, was elected president, and Nicolás Bravo, vice-president. At about that time the free-masons began to exert a great influence in political affairs, and the Scottish and Yorkist lodges played an important part. Bravo and his friends were *Escoceses,* while Guerrero and his partisans were *Yorkinos.* The American minister, Joel R. Poinsett, was often consulted on political questions and gave his opinion more freely than was compatible with his position. In December, 1827, an insurrection broke out for the purpose of abolishing secret societies, expelling Mr. Poinsett from the country, and changing the ministry. Strangely enough the vice-president, General Bravo, put himself at the head of the insurgents, but he was defeated by Guerrero and taken prisoner.

In 1828 the presidential election took place. The candidates were General Vicente Guerrero and General Manuel Gomez Pedraza, the former supported by the *Yorkinos* and the latter by the *Escoceses.* Pedraza was elected, as he received eleven votes and Guerrero, nine, but Santa Anna and other *liberals* made *pronunciamientos* in favor of Guerrero, and took up arms. President Victoria sent an army against Santa Anna, who was defeated, but to whom was given most curiously the command of the army which had just captured him. There was turmoil in the capital, and Pedraza sent his resignation to the Congress and escaped from the city. Congress, then, on January 12, 1829, declared null and void the election of Pedraza, and elected Guerrero president and Anastasio Bustamante vice-president. The new president issued a decree on September 15, 1829, abolishing slavery completely. The law was never fully enforced but does honor to Guerrero, who succeeded the same year in repulsing an invasion of Mexico by General Isidro Barradas. The latter had come from Cuba with a force of four thousand men and had fortified himself in Tampico. President

Guerrero sent Santa Anna and Mier y Teran against the Spaniard, who capitulated on September 11. On that occasion an amnesty was proclaimed and Nicolás Bravo and other political offenders were liberated. It was now the turn of Guerrero to fall, for, in spite of the energy he had displayed, he was accused of arbitrary conduct, and Bustamante, who commanded troops destined to protect the coast at Vera Cruz, put forth with Santa Anna the "Plan de Jalapa" against the government. Guerrero marched against the insurgents, but his troops *pronounced* against him, and he was forced to flee to the mountains of the south with a small escort. On leaving the capital he had entrusted the government, with the consent of Congress, to José Bocanegra, but the latter was ousted after five days by General Quintanas, and Pedro Velez, President of the Supreme Court, took his place. Bustamante then entered the city and was elected president by Congress, which declared Guerrero "morally incapacitated to govern the nation." "Thus," says Mr. A. H. Noll, "was Mexico over-supplied with rulers, and the question of the constitutional status of the several claimants to the chief magistracy was one that was well-nigh impossible to decide."

Bustamante took charge of the presidency on January 1, 1830, and was greatly aided in his administration by the able Alamán, his minister of Foreign and Domestic Relations. Soon, however, revolts broke out in different parts of the country, and Guerrero endeavored to regain his office of president. At Acapulco, whither he had been driven by the troops of Bustamante, he was invited on board the Sardinian ship, *Colombo,* whose commander, Picaluga, had been bribed, and he was basely taken by his host to Huatulco and delivered to his enemies. He was judged by a court martial at Oaxaca, condemned to death and shot on February 14, 1831. The fate of Guerrero was even sadder than that of Iturbide, for he was a purer patriot than the emperor. Of humble origin he had fought bravely for the independence of his country. The treacherous manner in which he was put to

death is one of the most deplorable events in the history of Mexico. Bustamante, who had overthrown Guerrero, did not thrive long in office, and was overthrown in 1832 by Santa Anna, who had revolted at Vera Cruz. On December 23 Bustamante signed the "Capitulation of Zavaleta," by which he recognized Pedraza as president by virtue of his election in 1828. Santa Anna was thus restoring the man whom he had deposed nearly four years before, and whose term of office was to expire in three months. Pedraza succeeded the acting president, General Melchior Musquiz. He was a man of fine character and of ability, but he seemed in 1832 to be under the domination of Santa Anna whose accession to the presidency appeared imminent. But he reached that office only after Congress had declared null the election of Bravo, whose competitor, General Mier y Teran had committed suicide. Santa Anna became president on April 1, 1833, and Valentín Gomez Farías, vice-president. The two men were very different in character: the former was a restless politician and eternal plotter, and the other a liberal and wise statesman.

It is difficult to narrate the history of that period, when Santa Anna retires from office and allows Farías to govern, attacks the men who *pronounce* in his favor and wish to make him dictator, and then himself proclaims in 1834 the "Plan de Cuernavaca," by which all the liberal measures of Farías were to be repealed, and the Federalist government was to be replaced by a centralized power. Farías was deposed, and General Miguel Barragán was named vice-president. He was really president for some time, as Santa Anna had the curious habit of retiring to his hacienda of Manga de Clavo whenever he was planning a change in the affairs of the country. The latter instigated petitions in favor of a centralized government, and a "Constitutional Congress" met in January, 1835. It immediately decreed that the militia of the states should be disarmed, and the state of Zacatecas having refused to comply with the law, Santa Anna marched against the insurgents and defeated them. After this success

the dictator caused the constitution to be changed by his Congress, which adopted *Las Siete Leyes* (The Seven Laws). There was to be only one legislative body and the states were changed into departments, while the cabinet of the president became a "Council." The Federal system of government was formally abolished by a new Constitution in 1836, and centralization took its place. In accordance with these unwise changes Mexico was to be subject to anarchy and misrule for many years, in spite of the efforts of a few enlightened patriots.

The despotism and incapacity of Santa Anna brought about, however, an event which was very fortunate, from the American point of view, at least,—the independence of Texas; an event which was soon to increase wonderfully the power of the United States, and which contributed therefore immensely to the progress of civilization in the New World.

We shall give elsewhere the history of Texas from the beginning, suffice it to say here that, in 1836, the principal inhabitants of that province were Americans who had first settled on the Rio Brazos with Moses Austin and who afterwards prospered under his son, Stephen F. Austin. There were also other settlements of Americans and of men of different nationalities, and, in the Federal Republic of Mexico, Texas formed a State with Coahuila. There was great dissatisfaction with the union with Coahuila and with the centralized form of government established by Santa Anna in 1835, and on the third of November of that year a provisional government was formed at San Felipe de Austin to sustain by force of arms the rights and liberties of the Texans and the Federal Constitution of 1824. Henry Smith was made governor, James W. Robinson, lieutenant-governor; Samuel Houston, commander-in-chief of the army; and Stephen F. Austin, Branch T. Archer, and W. H. Wharton, commissioners to the United States. The latter power had relinquished its claims to Texas, as based on the Louisiana Purchase, by a treaty in 1819 by which the whole of Florida

had been acquired. The American government, however, had not lost interest in the province and had sent troops into Texas under the pretext of protecting the frontiers of the United States from hostile Indians whom the Mexicans could not control. Aid also was given the Texans in their resistance against Mexico by many Americans, principally from the Southern States, as settlers in Texas were allowed to take their slaves with them.

On March 2, 1836, a convention was held at Washington, on the Rio Brazos, and a declaration of independence was adopted. On March 17, a constitution was adopted, and a provisional government was formed. David G. Burnet was elected president, Lorenzo de Zavala, vice-president, and Samuel Houston was re-appointed as commander-in-chief of the army. There were also four secretaries of state. The Mexican government had made preparations to subdue the insurrection, and General Santa Anna had been entrusted with this task. In November, 1835, he had gone to San Luis Potosi to begin the campaign against the Texans, and in December he marched with six thousand men upon San Antonio de Béjar. Near that town was the fortress of the Alamo in which were fourteen guns and a garrison of about one hundred and fifty men commanded by W. B. Travis. Santa Anna besieged the Alamo during eleven days, and on March 6, 1836, took it by assault, the Texan commander having wished neither to retreat nor to surrender. The whole garrison was massacred by the Mexicans, who spared only a woman, her child, and a negro servant. Among the Texans put to the sword were the gallant Colonels, Travis, Bowie, and David Crockett. The ruthless killing of prisoners by the Mexicans continued after the capture of the Alamo, for Colonel J. W. Fannin, having been defeated at La Coleta, was forced to surrender to General Urrea, and he and all his men were shot by order of Santa Anna. Detachments of his troops, under Captain King and Colonel Ward, had met with the same fate at Goliad. The war against the Texans was being waged as barbarously by

republican Mexico as it had been against the revolutionists under Hidalgo and Morelos by monarchical New Spain, and Houston and his associates understood that they must either conquer or perish. "Remember the Alamo" was their war-cry, and inspired by the example of the heroes at San Antonio, the Texans attacked Santa Anna, on April 21, 1836, on the banks of the San Jacinto. The Mexican general had a force of sixteen hundred men and Houston only seven hundred and eighty-three, but the former was utterly routed in an engagement which lasted only twenty minutes. The loss of the Texans was two killed and twenty-three wounded, whilst the Mexicans lost 630 killed, 208 wounded, and 730 prisoners. Among the latter were Santa Anna, General Cos, and four colonels. Colonel Almonte, soon to be well-known, was among the prisoners. General Houston was seriously wounded. The battle of San Jacinto is a glorious event in the history of Texas and practically assured the independence of the young republic.

Santa Anna, who had so cruelly put to death his Texan prisoners, might justly have met with the same fate when he was captured, but his victors magnanimously allowed him to retire to the United States after having kept him in confinement for some time. He had, before this, on May 14, signed a treaty with the President of Texas, which was intended to bring about peace, but the government of Mexico refused to recognize the agreements of the treaty, and the war continued. There were, however, no hopes for the subjugation of Texas after the battle of San Jacinto, and the Texans even threatened the Mexican ports with their war vessels. As for Santa Anna, he had gone to Washington, after having been liberated by the Texan government, and, in February, 1837, he had returned to Mexico where he had been well received, in spite of his great defeat. He retired to his hacienda of Manga de Clavo but kept his rank as a general in the Mexican army, a general destined in a few years to be terribly defeated by the compatriots of Austin and Houston.

On his return to his country in 1836, "he should have been punished," says a Mexican historian, "for his scandalous conduct: infamous treason, shameful cowardice, military incapacity, and usurpation of power." These words do not appear to be too strong as applied to Santa Anna, and still that man who seems to us to have been worthless was yet to exert a great influence on the affairs of Mexico. His career is astonishing and proves that the Mexicans needed many years of trials before they were prepared to enjoy the blessings of real independence.

## CHAPTER XI

### *FROM 1836 TO 1845*

WHILE Santa Anna was warring in Texas, acting President Barragán had died and had been succeeded by José Justo Corro, who proved to be weak and inefficient. On December 28, 1836, Spain recognized the independence of Mexico, and in December, 1839, the first Spanish minister plenipotentiary arrived at Vera Cruz and was cordially received. He bore a great name in the history of Spanish literature and was called Ángel Calderón de la Barca. At the end of the year 1836 the *Leyes Constitucionales* (Constitutional Laws) were promulgated. The States were changed to Departments, the presidential term was lengthened to eight years, and a *Supremo Poder Conservador* of five members was established, with almost absolute power over the different branches of the government. General Anastasio Bustamante was elected president of the republic and took possession of his office on April 12, 1837. The Centralists were in power, but the opposition of the Federalists did not cease, and turmoil and discord were the result for many years; revolts and *pronunciamientos* occurring incessantly; presidents made and unmade; and Santa Anna, at one time dictator, at another, general, and in the interval retiring, as a curious Cincinnatus, to his farm.

And now comes the "Pastry War" with the French, owing to claims of French residents for spoliations during the numerous political troubles. Promises to pay were never kept;

therefore, on January 16, 1838, the representative of France, Baron Deffaudis, left the legation to a chargé d'affaires, and had already embarked at Vera Cruz to return to his country when a war vessel arrived with despatches. In March Admiral Bazoche arrived with a squadron of ten ships, and minister Deffaudis issued an ultimatum, demanding among other things, payment, by April 15, of $600,000, an amount which was a great reduction of the sum due. The Mexican government refused to negotiate while the foreign squadron remained in Mexican waters, and thereupon Admiral Bazoche declared a cessation of diplomatic relations and a blockade of the ports. For some time the French were not able to use force, on account of the yellow fever and of storms, but at the end of October Admiral Baudin arrived with additional ships, in the capacity of minister plenipotentiary and military commander. He had an interview at Jalapa, on November 14, with the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, and not having obtained any satisfaction from him, the French admiral declared that he would begin hostilities on November 27 if the demands of his government were not granted. The Mexicans considered San Juan de Ulua a second Gibraltar, and paid no attention to the threats of Baudin. General Rincon, the commander at Vera Cruz, was ordered to put the fortress in good condition, but he was not given the means to do so, and when Admiral Baudin opened fire, on November 27, at noon, upon San Juan de Ulua, the fortress offered but little resistance. General Gaona defended himself bravely for two hours, but finally capitulated, with the consent of General Rincon, who had sent Santa Anna to report on the condition of the fort. Baudin entered into an agreement with Rincon to suspend the blockade for eight months, provided the garrison at Vera Cruz was reduced to one thousand men and the expelled Frenchmen were readmitted into the country and indemnified.

The Mexican government disapproved of the capitulation, war was declared against France, and the order for the

expulsion of the French residents was renewed. Santa Anna, who had come once more from his farm, was put in command at Vera Cruz, and he and Arista prepared to defend the city. Admiral Baudin might have destroyed the place, but he said that he would not make innocent people suffer, and he sent expeditions against Forts Santiago and Concepcion and one to capture Santa Anna at his house in Vera Cruz. Owing to a thick fog the forts were surprised, but the commander of the third expedition, the Prince de Joinville, one of the valiant sons of King Louis-Philippe, did not succeed in capturing Santa Anna, who escaped half dressed. Arista, however, was taken prisoner. The Mexicans, at the barracks, defended themselves bravely, and Baudin ordered a retreat to the ships. Santa Anna followed the French and reached the shore after nearly all the enemy had embarked. A volley from a cannon loaded with grape-shot wounded the Mexican general in the left leg and killed his horse. Admiral Baudin shelled the barracks at Vera Cruz and the city was abandoned by its defenders and by its inhabitants.

Santa Anna's leg was amputated, and the hero became again so popular that President Bustamante, having gone to Tampico to quell a revolt, appointed him provisional president, March 9, 1839. One month later a treaty was signed by Admiral Baudin and by General Victoria and Minister Gorostiza, by which Mexico agreed to pay to the French $600,000 within six months. As $60,000 had been claimed by a baker, Señor Verdía says that history has avenged Mexico for an unjust aggression by calling it the "Pastry War" *(guerra de los pasteles)*.

The revolt at Tampico which Bustamante had gone to quell soon became a revolution of the Federalists. The latter were defeated at Puebla by Valencia and Santa Anna, and their general, Mejía, was shot. In July, 1840, another revolutionary movement took place in the capital itself. It was led by General Urrea and Gomez Farías and was so successful that President Bustamante was taken prisoner after severe fighting in the city. Santa Anna left his retreat again

and advanced with an army against the revolutionists. The latter were granted favorable terms by Bustamante, and the insurrection came to an end leaving the Centralists still in power. At that time Gutierrez de Estrada, a former minister, issued a pamphlet advocating the establishment of a monarchy under a foreign prince. The plan, which was somewhat that of Iguala of the unfortunate Iturbide, was not well received, and the author was forced to flee from the country.

Peace was again disturbed, on August 8, 1841, when General Paredes *pronounced* against the government. General Valencia joined him, and Santa Anna also. Bustamante opposed the insurgents, but his troops passed over to the enemy, although he had proclaimed the federation in the great square in Mexico, and he retired from office and went to Europe, respected by all parties. Santa Anna had overthrown the government by his plan or "Bases of Tacubaya," which was that the present executive and legislative departments of the government should cease to exist, and that a *junta* should name a provisional president, and summon a congress to frame a new constitution within eight months. The *junta,* of course, chose Santa Anna as president, but the congress elected, according to the plan of Tacubaya, turned out to be composed of a majority of Federalists. This the Centralists could not allow, and through the exertions of the minister of war, Tornel, there was a *pronunciamiento* of the troops at Huexotzingo in favor of the installation of a council of notables and against the congress that had just assembled. The latter body was dissolved by the executive, and the council of notables met in January, 1843, and, on June 12, adopted *las Bases Orgánicas,* or new constitution, which was less liberal even than that of 1836. During the periodical retreats of the Dictator to his farm Bravo had been acting president, and then Canalizo, and Santa Anna did not return to the capital before June 3, 1844, although on January 2 he had been declared by congress elected president. He entered the city in great pomp, and ruled with his usual

despotism. His wife, to whom he had been married nineteen years, died in August, and was buried with great honors. Five weeks later the president married by proxy a young girl of fifteen years, who was conducted to him at Jalapa. He was acting as a monarch, and it was said of him when he retired again to Manga de Clavo: *"Ya el Presidente se va para volver coronado"* (the President is going in order to return crowned).

Yucatan did not escape the spirit of discord which arose so often in the Republic of Mexico, and a movement was begun there for separation, under the same pretext that Texas had taken, that the Federalist government had been abolished. After considerable fighting a compromise was effected in December, 1843, between the Mexican government and Yucatan, by which the latter province recognized the constitution of Mexico, but obtained, to a great extent, home rule. The revolution in Yucatan brought about the revolt of Sentmanat in Tabasco, the defeat of that governor by Ampudia, and his subsequent execution with thirty-nine out of fifty followers whom he had enlisted at New Orleans for an expedition against Mexico.

In October, 1844, Santa Anna seemed to be all powerful but he was soon to find out that the Tarpeian Rock was near the Capitol, for a powerful opposition was formed against him on account of his acts of despotism and the heavy taxes imposed by the government, and its wretched financial administration. The assembly of Guadalajara declared against the president, and General Mariano Paredes, a former firm supporter of Santa Anna and *comandante general* of Mexico, made a *pronunciamiento* at Guadalajara, on November 2, 1844, declaring the president suspended from office until his acts could be examined by the congress. Santa Anna left his hacienda immediately, placed himself at the head of the army without any legal warrant and set out for Querétaro to suppress the revolt. On December 3 Puebla joined the movement begun at Guadalajara, and two days later an insurrection broke out in the capital and José Joaquín de Herrera

was placed at the head of the government as president of the council. The rabble in Mexico city broke open the tomb in which was the leg which Santa Anna had lost at Vera Cruz and dragged it in the streets, and the president's bronze statue in the public square would have been destroyed had it not been removed and hidden.

When Santa Anna heard of the revolt in the capital he turned from his march against Paredes and set out for Mexico city at the head of an army of nearly fourteen thousand men. Already the congress had deposed him and had ordered his arrest and that of Canalizo, therefore when he approached the city he found that he would meet with stout resistance, and he marched then to Puebla, which he attacked on January 2, 1845. He was forced to raise the siege on January 12, on the approach of troops commanded by Bravo and Paredes, and after vainly trying to negotiate with Herrera, he fled and was captured near Jico and taken prisoner to Perote. He was afterward impeached by the congress and banished from the country forever. Canalizo was banished for ten years, as well as the four ministers of Santa Anna, while all his former adherents were pardoned by a general amnesty. The ex-president sailed for Havana on June 3, 1845, and at that place met his predecessor, Bustamante, who was taking advantage of the amnesty, to return to Mexico. Santa Anna's career, however, was far from being ended, and we shall soon see him again on the soil of his country, at the head of armies doomed to defeat.

On September 16, 1845, Herrera was installed as constitutional president, and he thought of settling the Texan question by a compromise. He met, however, with so great opposition that he prepared for war and ordered General Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga, with six thousand men, to proceed to the frontier. Instead of marching against the insurgents in Texas, Paredes *pronounced* at San Luis Potosi on December 14, and, on January 2, 1846, entered the capital and overthrew the government of Herrera. The new president was accused of being in favor of a monarchy, but

James Bowie.

Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar.
President of the Republic of Texas.

Lorenzo de Zavala.

*From the paintings in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.*

nevertheless he resolved to oppose the advance of the Americans and sent to Matamoros an army commanded by General Ampudia. The war with the United States was now inevitable.

For a number of years the United States had demanded payment of claims due American citizens, and although an arbitration commission had declared in 1839 the debt of Mexico to be about three million dollars, only part of that sum had been paid in 1846. President Jackson had sent Powhatan Ellis, of Mississippi, as envoy to press the settlement of the claims, but the American minister had accomplished nothing, and diplomatic relations were broken for a time between the United States and Mexico. A little later Ellis had been sent back by Jackson as minister, and in 1842 President Tyler had sent Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, to attend to the claims which, as we have said, remained unpaid, to a great extent. Meanwhile, great ill feeling had arisen in Mexico against the United States, on account of the recognition by the latter power, on March 1, 1837, of the independence of Texas, which had claimed all the territory lying between the United States and the Rio Grande, from its source to its mouth. Alcée Labranche, of Louisiana, was then sent to the new republic as *chargé d'affaires,* and Mr. Hunt arrived in Washington as minister plenipotentiary. The latter soon proposed the annexation of Texas to the Union, but President Van Buren saw that the time had not yet come for such a measure.

France and Great Britain recognized also the independence of Texas, and many citizens of the United States afforded aid to that country and held meetings in favor of annexation. The Mexican minister, Bocanegra, protested, in 1842, against acts which he considered hostile and received a rather haughty reply from Daniel Webster who was then secretary of state. At about that time Commodore Thomas Ap C. Jones captured Monterey, capital of Upper California, on the erroneous information that the British intended to take possession of that town, and although it was restored to the

Mexicans the next day, the incident did not improve the relations between Mexico and the United States. The envoy of the latter government was informed, in August, 1843, that the annexation of Texas would be looked on as a *casus belli,* and Minister Thompson replied as haughtily as Daniel Webster had done the year before. President Tyler was very anxious to bring about the annexation, and concluded a treaty to that effect with Texas and laid it before the Senate on April 22, 1844. The treaty was rejected by a vote of thirty-five to sixteen, but meanwhile General Zachary Taylor was posted at Fort Jesup with about eleven hundred and fifty men, and a naval force was sent to the Gulf of Mexico. Taylor was instructed to march to the Sabine, in case of danger to Texas, but not to cross the river without further orders. President Tyler, on October 14, instructed the American envoy at Mexico to protest against the sanguinary manner in which the war against Texas was waged, and, on December 19, in his message to Congress, urged "prompt and immediate action on the subject of annexation." The president was not satisfied with urging action but had joint resolutions adopted on March 1, 1845, by which he was given the option of effecting the annexation by treaty or by resolution, and he immediately sent a messenger to the Texan government. The resolutions had been adopted in the House by a majority of twenty-two votes, and in the Senate by a majority of two. President Tyler, therefore, on the eve of retiring from office, committed the United States to the policy of annexation and left to his successor the task of accomplishing it. President Polk had been elected on that platform and set about to realize it with courage and energy.

The Mexican minister to Washington, General Almonte, demanded his passports, and the American envoy at Mexico was virtually dismissed. Preparations for war were made by both countries, but on October 13, 1845, the Mexican government was informed confidentially that the American government desired to send an envoy empowered to settle

the questions in dispute. The Mexican secretary replied that a commissioner would be received to arrange the dispute about Texas, and suggested as a condition *sine qua non* that the American squadron off Vera Cruz should retire. President Polk immediately sent John Slidell, of Louisiana, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, and he arrived at Vera Cruz on December 3, 1845, before the American fleet had wholly retired. Slidell was not recognized, and on March 21, 1846, he received his passport, which he had demanded. He had endeavored to bring about a settlement of the claims of the American citizens and had informed his government, in the beginning of the year, of the utter failure of his mission. The annexation of Texas and the acquisition of California not being obtained by negotiations, there was no other recourse but war, and General Taylor was ordered to march to the Rio Grande. The glorious campaigns of "Old Rough and Ready" were about to begin.

## CHAPTER XII

### *THE WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES*

General Taylor had been ordered to take possession of Point Isabel, which threatened Matamoros, and on March 8 he set out from Corpus Christi. He crossed the Little Colorado river to establish a depot at Point Isabel, and a little later erected a fort opposite Matamoros. General Ampudia prepared to attack him but was superseded by General Arista who, on April 24, 1846, advanced against the Americans. Captain Thornton fell into an ambuscade, on April 25, and was captured with a party of dragoons by the Mexicans. This act brought about a formal declaration of war on May 13, as, according to President Polk, "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil." On May 8 Taylor attacked the Mexicans who were posted at Palo Alto, and although both armies encamped for the night near the field of battle, the next day Arista retired toward Matamoros and took up a position at the Resaca de la Palma. Taylor followed him and defeated him utterly on May 9, capturing all the Mexican artillery, war material, baggage, and even the official correspondence of Arista. The American army comprised only twenty-three hundred men, while the Mexicans had a force of at least five thousand men. Arista was deprived of his command and sent to a court martial, and General Ampudia was restored to his former position of commander-in-chief. Meanwhile Fort

Texas, built by Taylor, had been attacked and bravely defended by Major Brown who was killed shortly before the enemy had retreated. In his honor the fort was named Fort Brown. Taylor occupied Matamoros, on May 18, without resistance.

On May 20, 1846, General José María Yañez declared against President Paredes at Guadalajara, and the latter was taken prisoner and exiled, after General Mariano Salas had also *pronounced* against him. Salas called together a Congress which elected president, in December, the inevitable Santa Anna. The former dictator had returned to Mexico in August; he had been allowed to pass through the American fleet off Vera Cruz, as it was thought that his presence in his country would be a cause of discord and weakness rather than of strength. Santa Anna, as he had often done, preferred to command the army than to rule as president, and leaving that office to Farías, the vice-president, he set out for San Luis Potosi at the head of three thousand men.

In the meantime Taylor had not been inactive after he had entered Matamoros. He had chosen Camargo, on the Rio Grande, for his headquarters, and on September 5 had begun his forward movement against Monterey. His division commanders were Twiggs, Worth, and Butler, and he had about six thousand men, of whom nearly half were volunteers. He arrived, on September 19, in front of Monterey which General Ampudia had strongly fortified. It lay in a beautiful valley of the Sierra Madre and was protected by high hills and by a citadel and other forts, and by barricades. On September 20 Taylor sent Worth to occupy the Saltillo road, and on the 21st began the assault. The Mexicans defended themselves bravely, resisting stubbornly as the Americans advanced from street to street, and from house to house. On September 24 Ampudia proposed to capitulate and received generous terms from the victor, who allowed the Mexican troops to march out with their small arms and accoutrements, one field-battery, and twenty-one

rounds of ammunition. An armistice of eight weeks was also agreed upon. General Taylor had been entirely successful thus far, and yet a great part of his army was taken from him at that time. A strong detachment was sent, by orders of the War Department, under General Patterson, on an expedition to Tampico, and nine thousand of his best troops were sent from the Rio Grande toward Vera Cruz by General Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, who had just arrived at Camargo, on December 30, and was preparing his march against the city of Mexico.

Santa Anna learned by one of the copies of Scott's orders to Butler of the proposed attack on Vera Cruz and of the reduction in Taylor's army. He, therefore, left San Luis Potosi, on January 28, 1847, with twenty thousand men and met Taylor's army of seven thousand five hundred men at the hacienda of Buena Vista. The Mexican general had hurried his troops in the hope of surprising the Americans, and when he found them posted at Buena Vista he arrogantly summoned them to surrender, on February 22. The reply was given on the next day, and in spite of the gallantry of the Mexican troops they were repulsed with great loss by Taylor's forces. On the morning of February 24 it was found that Santa Anna's army had retreated from the battlefield, leaving it in the possession of the Americans. The loss of the latter was less than seven hundred and fifty, while the Mexicans returned to San Luis Potosi with less than half the number of men with whom they had started on their march against Taylor. Mr. James Schouler, in his *History of the United States,* says rightly: "Buena Vista shines out as unquestionably the most brilliant engagement of the present war, and in American memory the most popular," and he adds: "Taylor himself never showed more nerve; but when everything seemed to falter, he was seen riding upon the plateau amid the thickest of the fight, and calmly surveying the scene." Buena Vista was the last great triumph of Zachary Taylor during the Mexican War, for

hereafter he and what had been left to him of his valiant army were occupied in the defense of the Rio Grande frontier and of the country thus far conquered by the Americans.

General Scott began to embark his army on February 15. His forces numbered over twelve thousand men, and his generals were Worth, Twiggs, Patterson, Pillow, Quitman, and Shields. He landed his troops from the transports, on March 9, on a beach at a short distance from Vera Cruz. The port was blockaded by Commodore Conner, and the city was invested. Scott had decided to open trenches rather than to attempt a capture by storm, and the operations were conducted by Colonel Tatten, a distinguished engineer. On March 22 a cannonade opened from the besieging army and from Commodore Perry's squadron and was continued vigorously for four days, the Mexicans, under General Juan Morales, defending themselves gallantly. On March 26, however, they were forced to surrender, and the garrison was allowed to march out with the honors of war. General Scott was now anxious to leave the Gulf Coast before the unhealthy season came, and accordingly he left Vera Cruz on April 12.

Meanwhile Santa Anna, after his defeat at Buena Vista or La Angostura, as the Mexicans call that battle, had assumed again the presidency of the Republic, and on hearing of the fall of Vera Cruz, had left the capital to *wash out that dishonor*. He succeeded in raising an army of about ten thousand men and drew up his forces at Cerro Gordo, at a distance of eighteen miles from Jalapa. He had chosen his post well and had fortified it quickly and strongly, but he was unable to resist the attack of Scott's army and was completely defeated, on April 18, 1847. The American troops then took possession of Jalapa, Perote, and Puebla, and halted at the latter town. There General Scott received the unwelcome visit of Nicolas P. Trist, chief clerk of the State Department, who came as the bearer of a project of a treaty of peace, if an opportunity presented itself. Secret agents came from Santa Anna, and he has been accused of

treason, although it is likely that he wished only to gain time for defense by these negotiations.

Reënforcements arrived at Puebla; among them a brigade commanded by Franklin Pierce, who was in a few years to be President of the United States. On August 7 the army started on its march against Mexico, and Scott passed through the country which Cortés had crossed when he advanced toward Tenochtitlán. Santa Anna, whatever had been his faults thus far, showed himself resourceful and energetic, but he could not compete with so able a military commander as Winfield Scott. The American general attacked the Mexicans in the neighborhood of their capital and defeated them in the "battles of Mexico," on August 20, at Padierna or Contreras, and at Churubusco where a heroic resistance was made in a convent by General Anaya.

There was now a suspension of hostilities on August 22, and Commissioner Trist opened negotiations for peace on August 27. The American government demanded practically the cession of Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California and free transit across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and offered a sum of money to be agreed upon. These terms were rejected by the Mexican commissioners and, on September 6, the armistice was broken. Santa Anna, as before, was probably trying to gain time for the defense of the capital, but Scott attacked him with such energy that he was utterly defeated and Mexico was captured. Let us relate briefly the last events of the war.

At Molino del Rey there was a cannon foundry, and Worth was ordered by Scott to take possession of it. The attack at first was to be made at night on September 7, but it was postponed till the next morning and proved to be no easy undertaking. The massive stone buildings of Molino del Rey were protected by the artillery in the fortress of Chapultepec at a distance of about three thousand feet, and it was only after severe fighting that the mill *(molino)* was taken by the Americans. The latter did not pursue their advantage by attacking Chapultepec, and abandoned the field

to the enemy, who were greatly elated at their apparent triumph. They had indeed fought valiantly under General Antonio León and Colonel Lucas Balderas, who were killed in the engagement, and Colonels Echeagaray and Gelaty.

Scott now determined to capture the fortress of Chapultepec which was bravely defended by the veteran General Bravo and was taken by storm by the Americans, on September 12. There Colonel Felipe Xicotencatl, a descendant of a famous Tlascaltec chieftain, distinguished himself and was killed. The students of the military school also fought valiantly, and among them was Miramon, soon to be celebrated. After the fall of Chapultepec Scott advanced on Mexico, and taking possession of the causeways and of the fortified gates of San Cosme and Belen, he entered the city, on September 14, 1847. Opposition was made by the inhabitants, and the American commander was compelled to sweep the streets with grape and canister and to batter down houses. On the morning of September 15 all resistance ceased, and General Scott was absolute master of Mexico, as Cortés had been of Tenochtitlán after his second capture of the city. The Americans had been commanded in the Mexican War with consummate skill, both by Taylor and by Scott, who were ably supported by valiant officers, among whom many were later to rise to great distinction on both sides of the contest during the Civil War. The most conspicuous of these were Lee, Grant, Thomas, Jackson, Jefferson Davis, Beauregard, Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph E. Johnston, and Bragg. Among the killed at Buena Vista was Col. Henry Clay, Jr., a son of the great orator and statesman. In Scott's campaigns Worth, Quitman, Pillow, Twiggs, and many other officers did their full duty. Although the Mexicans were poorly armed and disciplined they struggled valiantly against the invaders, whose achievements were remarkable when their small number is considered and the distance from their country.

Santa Anna had evacuated the capital after the capture of the fortified gates, during the night of September 14, and

had renounced his office of president, which was filled temporarily by Manuel de la Peña y Peña, who established his administration at Querétaro. Santa Anna was obliged to hand over to General Reyes the small army which remained to him, as he was deposed by the government and ordered to appear before a council of war. He thereupon left the country and went to New Grenada. This flight was not, however, to end his career in Mexico, and we shall soon see him again at the head of affairs. He had been very energetic and resourceful during the war but had displayed little ability as a general. He was also far inferior in character to his two opponents, Taylor and Scott.

While Taylor was warring on the Rio Grande General Stephen W. Kearny, with about sixteen hundred men, had marched nine hundred miles over the old Santa Fé Trail and had conquered the capital of New Mexico in August, 1846. He set out afterwards for California, and Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan, who had been with him to Santa Fé, left that place with about nine hundred men, on December 14, to join General Wool who was in command of an expedition directed against Chihuahua, in Northern Mexico. Doniphan made a memorable march of one thousand miles, winning on the way the victories of Bracito and Sacramento Creek. On March 2, 1847, he entered the important town of Chihuahua, but he did not meet Wool there, as the latter had proceeded instead to join General Worth at Saltillo. Doniphan set out for that place and reached it, on May 22, 1847. His expedition and that of Kearny were truly wonderful.

Peña entered upon preliminary negotiations for peace, and a Congress having assembled, Pedro M. Anaya was elected president ad interim, on November 9, his term of office to last until January 8, 1848. At that date Peña succeeded him, and by his efforts peace with the United States was effected, Nicholas P. Trist acting as American commissioner, although his government had withdrawn his powers. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed on February 2,

1848, and Mexico ceded to the United States, Texas with the territory in dispute between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, and what was then New Mexico, and Upper California. The United States agreed to pay to Mexico for this accession of territory, fifteen million dollars and to assume and pay the claims of American citizens against Mexico, not to exceed three and a quarter million dollars.

Shortly after the treaty was signed General Scott was relieved of his command, which was turned over to General William O. Butler. The conqueror of Mexico had an impetuous temper and quarrelled with his subordinate officers, against three of whom, Worth, Pillow, and Colonel Duncan he preferred charges at Washington. He was ordered with the officers accused to appear before a court of inquiry and left his army in Mexico. After the conquest of the capital he had maintained severe discipline in his own army and in the conquered city, upon which he had levied an assessment of $150,000.

The Mexican historians speak very harshly of the Americans in their narrative of the war with the United States, and some American historians also call it an iniquitous contest. Whatever may be the merits of the case there is no doubt that the result of the war was beneficial to civilization, as it extended the free institutions of our country over an immense territory where are now to be found populous and prosperous commonwealths. Under Mexican rule this territory would have languished for many years, for it is only lately that order has reigned in the Mexican Republic. No country can prosper where the system of *pronunciamientos* flourishes, a system equivalent to anarchy and misrule.

## CHAPTER XIII

### *THE WAR OF THE REFORM*

Jose Joaquin de Herrera was elected Constitutional President by the Congress, and on June 12, 1848, the government returned to the capital. In spite of an insurrection of General Paredes, which was quickly quelled by General D. A. Bustamante, and of many difficulties, Herrera succeeded in reducing the army and in establishing railroads and telegraphs. The first telegraphic line was between Mexico and Puebla and was introduced by Juan de la Granja. In Yucatan there was a serious rising of the Indians who were finally routed, and the province, in August, 1848, was reunited to Mexico.

In January, 1851, General Mariano Arista succeeded Herrera, whose term of office had expired, and although the president was a man of honor and a sincere patriot, a revolution broke out in July, 1852, at Guadalajara against Portilla, the governor of Jalisco, and soon a "plan" was formed to overthrow Arista, maintain the federal constitution and recall Santa Anna. After there had been several *pronunciamientos* in favor of the "Plan de Jalisco" General Arista resigned his office on January 4, 1853. Ceballos, President of the Supreme Court, now became chief executive and displayed some energy in wishing to dissolve the assembly in order to call a national convention. He failed, however, in his efforts, and was replaced by Lombardini, who ruled for a short time, until Santa Anna was again

elected president and took possession of that office on April 20, 1853. Among his ministers we see once more Lucas Alamán, who was an avowed monarchist.

Santa Anna's administration was retrograde and most despotic. He exiled Arista and persecuted all who were not of his political opinions. He increased the army, restored the "Order of Guadalupe," imposed on the people heavy taxes, and endeavored to place the country under a foreign protectorate. In December, 1853, his powers as Dictator were prolonged indefinitely; he was empowered to appoint his successor, if necessary, and he was given the title of "Serene Highness." He sold to the United States for seven million dollars the country known as "La Mesilla." It included the southern part of Arizona and comprised what is called the "Gadsden Purchase," which increased considerably the territory acquired by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

While Santa Anna seemed most powerful Colonel Villareal proclaimed, on March 1, 1854, the "Plan de Ayutla," by which a junta was to appoint a provisional president and call a Constituent Congress. On March 11 Colonel Ignacio Comonfort adhered to the new plan with slight changes, and the movement against Santa Anna spread so rapidly that the president left Mexico City on March 11, to subdue the insurgents. After some fighting with little success he returned to the capital, and the insurrection became more threatening. At that time took place the expedition of the French Count Raousset de Boulbon who invaded Sonora from Upper California and tried to establish there an independent sovereignty. He was defeated, however, by General Yañez, taken prisoner, and shot.

Comonfort returned from the United States with arms and ammunition, and the insurrection becoming every day more powerful and more popular, Santa Anna went to Vera Cruz, after having named to govern the country a triumvirate composed of the President of the Court, and of Generals Salas and Carrera. The Dictator then left the country once more and went to Havana. This flight marked the end

of his extraordinary career as an official in his country. According to the "Plan de Ayutla" Carrera was named provisional president, but he was not recognized by Comonfort, and General Juan Alvarez, a full-blooded Indian, was elected by the junta of notables. In his cabinet were Benito Juarez, destined to become celebrated, and Comonfort, who succeeded Alvarez as president, on December 11, 1855.

Insurrections broke out at the very beginning of the new administration, and the insurgents succeeded in occupying Puebla de los Angeles, which, however, Comonfort retook, on March 23, 1856. He treated the conservatives and the clergy with severity, favored the "ley Lerdo" by which the civil and ecclesiastical mortmain was abolished, suppressed the order of the Jesuits, on June 5, and that of the Franciscans, on September 17. A conspiracy had been discovered at the convent of the latter, and the government ordered a street to be called "Independence" to be opened through that edifice. The convent became, some time later, a Protestant church, and was restored to the Catholic faith only in 1895. Señor Verdía says of this event: "The government forgot that no church in Mexico deserved greater respect for its historical traditions than that of St. Francis, on account of the important and memorable services which the Franciscans rendered to the cause of civilization."

On October 20, 1856, the city of Puebla rose again in revolt under the leadership of Colonels Orihuela and Miramon, but President Comonfort sent General Tomás Moreno against the insurgents, who were forced to capitulate, on December 3, after a stubborn resistance. There was next a *pronunciamiento* at San Luis Potosi, and General Osollo placed himself at the head of the rebels. He was defeated in two engagements by General Parrodi, and there was comparative peace for a short time. The new Constitution was promulgated, on February 5, 1857. It was liberal, and established the republican federal form of government. The executive power was entrusted to a President elected for four years, the legislative to a single house of representatives

elected for two years, and the judicial to a supreme court and lower courts. The President of the Supreme Court was to succeed temporarily the President of the Republic, in case of vacancy of that office. Somewhat later a Senate was added to the House to form the legislative branch of government. The Constitution was modeled upon that of the United States, and put an end to the dictatorial powers which the presidents had possessed since the "Plan de Ayutla" had been successful. Comonfort, under the new organic law, was elected President, and Benito Juarez, President of the Supreme Court. Strange to say, however, Comonfort adhered to the "Plan de Tacubaya," which General Zuloaga had formed, on December 17, 1857. The Constitution was to be set aside as not being in harmony with the customs and usages of the people; Comonfort was to be continued in power and to convoke a congress to frame another constitution which was to be submitted for approval to the voters.

Comonfort wished to reconcile all parties but failed absolutely, and the conservatives having *pronounced* against him on January 11, 1858, and named in his place General Felix M. Zuloaga, he endeavored in vain to defend the capital. He was abandoned by his troops and left Mexico city on January 21, 1858, for Vera Cruz, where he embarked and went into exile. The reactionary party which had overthrown him annulled the reform laws passed lately and prepared to make war against the Constitutionalists, who had established a government under Juarez at Guanajuato. The latter were defeated at Salamanca, and a little later Juarez was seized at Guadalajara by the mutinied garrison and exposed to great danger. He was finally rescued, and by way of Panama, Colon, Havana, and New Orleans he reached Vera Cruz where he established his government.

Benito Juarez was born on March 21, 1806, at the hamlet of San Pablo Guelatao, in the State of Oaxaca. Both his parents were of pure Indian blood and were very poor. He lost his mother at his birth and his father when he was three years old, and was brought up by his grandmother and then

A portion of Spanish chain armor, attributed to the expedition of Cabeza de Vaca, found upon his supposed route when searching for the Seven Cities of Cibola. *From the original in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka.*

by an uncle. At the age of twelve he was the servant of Antonio Salanueva, who became attached to him and sent him to the ecclesiastical seminary. At that time he was entirely illiterate and could not speak Spanish, but he soon made great progress, and having abandoned the study of theology he entered as a law student the Institute of Science and Arts of Oaxaca and became a distinguished jurist and statesman, He was married in 1843 and had twelve children. His private as well as his public life was pure, he was able and patriotic, and was, for many years, the chief exponent of liberal ideas in Mexico. As an administrator, his skill and honesty were shown in the government of Oaxaca.

The war, between the conservatives or reactionists and the liberals or constitutionalists, was waged with great bitterness, and General Miramon captured Guanajuato in July, and with Mejía won, in September, at Ahualulco a signal victory which made him so popular that General Echeagaray *pronounced* in his favor at Ayutla, and General Robles Pezuela, at Mexico. Zuloaga named Miguel Miramon his substitute, and the latter was made president by a junta of notables. He assumed office on February 2, 1859. He was only twenty-seven years old, having been born, on September 29, 1832, in the city of Mexico, descended from a French family. He was a man of courage and had been singularly successful thus far in his military operations. He now wished to capture Vera Cruz, where was the government of Juarez, and marched against that town. Finding that he could not take it by assault he abandoned the siege and returned to the capital. Not far from the city, at Tacubaya, General Marquez routed completely the liberal commander Degollado, and Miramon, who had just arrived from Vera Cruz, ordered Marquez, in writing, to shoot all his prisoners of the rank of officers. This was done, and among the men shot were not only officers, but physicians and medical students who were attending the wounded without distinction of party. The victims of Marquez and Miramon have been called the "Martyrs of Tacubaya."

The government of Juarez was recognized by the United States and an exchange of ministers took place between that country and Mexico. The liberals then adopted severe laws against the clergy, regulating civil marriages and the civil status, and endeavoring to separate the church from the state. The military operations continued with varied success until the month of November, 1859, when Miramon defeated Degollado at la Estancia de las Vacas and prepared another expedition against Vera Cruz. At that time the two rival presidents made treaties against which each one protested; Juarez, the MacLane-Ocampo treaty with the United States, giving it the right of protecting its citizens and interests within Mexican territory by force of arms; Miramon, the Mon-Almonte treaty with Spain, which gave that country advantages in regard to indemnities to Spanish subjects in Mexico.

In February, 1860, Miramon set out on his march on Vera Cruz, accompanied by Diaz, his minister of war. He counted on the coöperation of Marin with two ships which had been bought for his government and were to sail from Havana, but Marin's small squadron was captured by Captain Jarvis, of the American navy, who commanded a frigate and two corvettes. The prize was declared illegal by a court at New Orleans, but the ships were restored to the government of Miramon when they were of no use to him in the siege of Vera Cruz, which he was compelled to raise once more. There were many engagements between the forces of both parties, and the liberals were generally successful. Miramon was routed at the Silao hills, on August 10, 1860, and went to Mexico where he had himself elected president by a junta of departmental representatives. He did this because Zuloaga had fled from him and had withdrawn his power as substitute. Although his resources were daily diminishing Miramon defended himself with great vigor and was often victorious. On December 20 he left the capital to meet the enemy, although he had only half their number, and after a gallant fight he was defeated, on December 22, by General

Gonzalez Ortega at Capulalpan. The city of Mexico then capitulated, and Miramon escaped to Jalapa and was finally conveyed to Europe on board a French man-of-war. The liberal army of twenty-five thousand men entered the capital in triumph, and Juarez was received with enthusiasm, on January 11, 1861, by a people who had rendered the same honors many times to revolutionary chiefs whose power had been but transient.

One of the first acts of Juarez, after occupying Mexico, was to dismiss from the country the Spanish minister, who had favored Miramon's party, and the papal legate. The conservatives continued a guerrilla warfare, and were joined by Zuloaga who still claimed to be president, according to the Plan of Tacubaya. Melchor Ocampo, one of the ablest of the Reform leaders, was seized on his hacienda of Pomoca by a guerrilla band, and shot by orders of General Marquez. This wanton execution created great indignation, and General Degollado offered to pursue and punish the conservative leaders. He fell, however, into an ambush and was shot by some bandits. The same fate befell General Leandro Valle, and a reward of ten thousand dollars was offered by the government for the heads of Marquez, Mejía, and other insurgent chiefs. This did not dismay the latter, for Marquez appeared before the capital and was repulsed only after severe fighting, in which Colonel Porfirio Diaz took a prominent part, leaving the sitting of the chamber of which he was a member to aid in the defence. In August Marquez was defeated at Jalatlaco by General Ortega, and signally routed in October, 1861, at Pachuca by Porfirio Diaz and Tapia. After this there was only guerrilla warfare in the mountains. The great War of the Reform, which had lasted three years, had now come to an end, and Mexico might have enjoyed peace and liberal institutions had not the intervention of several European powers brought again turmoil and strife.

In 1861 an election was held, and Benito Juarez was chosen Constitutional President and was installed in June.

He was confronted with great financial difficulties and issued a decree which was approved by Congress, suspending for two years all payments on account of foreign debts. Diplomatic relations were forthwith broken off by France and England, and on October 31, 1861, the treaty of London was signed between France, England, and Spain, by which the three countries agreed to seize the principal positions on the coast of Mexico in order to distribute the customs revenues among the foreign creditors. It was stipulated that the powers should not appropriate any territory or interfere with the form of government of the Mexicans. The United States was invited to join the contracting powers, but it was decided to enforce the treaty without waiting for an answer, which was given in the negative. England complained of the robbery of $660,000, which was deposited at the British legation for payment to English bondholders. Juarez had collected the money, but it was taken away by orders of Miramon. Besides, Mexico owed England nearly eighty million dollars in Mexican money for an old debt of the early years of the Republic. The debt to Spain was about fifteen million dollars and to France about two million five hundred thousand, the whole in Mexican money. The debt to France included the claim of Jecker and Company for one million dollars with interest at twelve per centum. Jecker was a Swiss banker who had become a naturalized Frenchman. The Mexicans denied the correctness of the claims of the foreign powers, but whether the debts were smaller or not, the governments at Mexico had manifested little inclination to pay them, and we can hardly blame the powers for trying to obtain payment by force. There is no doubt, however, that both Spain and France had ulterior motives for the intervention, the former to establish a prince of the House of Bourbon on the throne of Mexico, the latter to found there a monarchy which might later counterbalance the power of the United States in America.

In the year 1861 the Empire of Napoleon III had reached its highest point of prosperity. The Emperor had been

singularly successful in the Crimean War and in the campaigns against Austria in 1859, but his very success was to be harmful to France a decade later. During the great war against Prussia, Russia remembered the Crimea and remained inactive, and Italy also, from fear of losing her newly acquired unity. Napoleon III was a kind-hearted man but was visionary, and his system of nationalities turned to the detriment of France by the annexation of German speaking Alsace and Lorraine. However, in 1861, he was very powerful in Europe and thought of establishing the influence of France in Mexico. He was doubtless deceived by the Mexican exiles, Almonte, Miramon, Gutierrez de Estrada, and others, in regard to the political situation in their country, and he believed he might easily give a monarch to the Mexicans, who would accept him with pleasure and gratitude. He had already chosen that monarch; it was to be Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph. This idea of Napoleon III was considered by him during the Mexican War as the greatest of his reign, but it has been found difficult to prove that it was to the interest of France to undertake an expedition to place an Austrian prince upon the throne of Mexico. The failure of Napoleon's idea did himself and his dynasty great harm.

## CHAPTER XIV

### *THE WAR WITH THE FRENCH—THE SECOND EMPIRE*

Of the three signers of the Treaty of London the Spaniards were the first to reach Mexico. On December 14, 1861, a large Spanish fleet conveying an army of six thousand men arrived at the harbor of Vera Cruz and took possession of the city. The Mexican government displayed great energy and prepared to resist the invasion of the foreigners, which became still more formidable on the arrival of the French and English forces on January 8, 1862. General Prim commanded the Spaniards and was also diplomatic agent; Admiral Jurien de la Gravière and Dubois de Saligny represented the French, and Sir Charles Wyke represented the English. The latter power had at Vera Cruz only three vessels and seven hundred marines under Commodore Dunlap; the French had twenty-five hundred soldiers.

Juarez issued an energetic decree on January 25, against all Mexicans who should not defend the country or who should abet the invasion, and the latter offense was to be punished with death. Such was soon the fate of General Robles, who was shot for an attempt to join the French. In spite of his measures for defense Juarez endeavored to avoid hostilities and the foreigners were invited to a conference, to prepare for which a preliminary convention was held at la Soledad in February. Manuel Doblado represented the Mexicans with great ability, and it was agreed that the Mexican government should be recognized as constitutional,

and certain towns should be occupied by the allies who should evacuate them and return to their first positions, if negotiations were broken off. At the conference held at Orizaba in April the French commissioner, Saligny, announced that his country could not treat with the government of Juarez, on account of the many injuries done French subjects in Mexico. He and his colleague demanded large sums of money, including the Jecker claim, and in reality laid down an ultimatum which could not fail to bring about war. This intention was the more evident when reënforcements arrived which increased the French forces to six thousand five hundred men, and when came with them the Mexican exiles, Almonte, Father Miranda, Haro y Tamaris, and others. Miramon arrived also at that time, but the British commodore threatened to arrest him for the robbery at the British legation, and he went to Havana. Unfortunately for him he returned later to Mexico where he met with a sad fate.

The Spanish and the English did not agree with the French, and withdrew from the enterprise undertaken under the agreement of the Treaty of London. The troops of Napoleon III were now left alone on Mexican soil, and prepared to accomplish the purpose for which they had been sent by the Emperor. As a preliminary to hostilities the French, on a poor pretext, reoccupied Orizaba, which they had evacuated, according to the Soledad convention. The Mexican historians blame them bitterly for their disloyalty, and accuse them of having remained in the places which they had been permitted to occupy and from which they should have retired, according to agreement. General de Lorencez, the new commander, resolved to attack Puebla. He had as allies some of the chiefs of the conservatives, who by the Plan of Cordoba, on April 19, 1862, proclaimed General Almonte President of the Republic. The latter was supposed to be the son of the patriot *cura* Morelos, and had been Mexican minister to Washington and to several European courts.

The first important engagement of the campaign took place, on April 28, on the heights of Acultzingo, from which the Mexicans were dislodged. They retreated to Puebla, and their commander, General Ignacio Zaragoza, fortified the hills of Guadalupe and Loretta to resist the attack of the invaders. The battle took place on May 5, 1862, and the French and their allies, the conservatives, to the number of more than six thousand men, were repulsed and defeated. The Mexicans had only four thousand men, and their triumph was so complete that *El Cinco de Mayo* is one of their greatest national feast days. "In appreciation," says Mr. Noll, "of his brilliant victory and defence of the city, General Zaragoza was appointed Military Governor of Vera Cruz, his name was inscribed in letters of gold upon the walls of the Hall of Congress, and the official name of Puebla was changed to 'Puebla de Zaragoza.' " The French retired to Orizaba, and the Mexicans under Zaragoza were defeated at Cerro del Borrego in an attack upon the invaders. Shortly afterwards the victor of *El Cinco de Mayo* died at Puebla of typhus fever.

On September 22, General Forey arrived with large reenforcements and superseded Lorencez. He did not recognize Almonte as president and began a vigorous campaign. His army numbered now more than twenty-five thousand men, among whom were many of the old soldiers of the Crimean and Italian campaigns. On March 16, 1863, he laid siege to Puebla which was bravely defended by General Gonzalez Ortega, whose force consisted of about twenty-two thousand men. The assaults of the French were repulsed until March 29, when Fort Iturbide was captured, and Forey now attacked the house blocks and gradually gained ground, the Mexicans defending the breaches stubbornly. On May 8 former President Comonfort, who had returned to Mexico and was fighting for the Republic, was defeated at San Lorenzo by Bazaine and Marquez while introducing a train into Puebla. There being no further hope of aid from the exterior, and the food and ammunition

having been consumed, Ortega was forced to an unconditional surrender on May 17, and over twelve thousand men of the Mexican army became prisoners of war. Among these were twenty-six generals, of whom several succeeded in escaping on the way to Vera Cruz. Ortega and Porfirio Diaz were of the number of those who escaped from their captors. The defense of Puebla was very honorable to the Mexicans, who have compared it to that of Saragossa by the Spaniards in 1808. The capture of that city, however, prepared for that of the capital, which was abandoned by Juarez, on May 31, and occupied by the French a few days later, Bazaine entering the city with the vanguard on June 7, 1863, and Forey with the rest of the army, on June 10. Thus was Mexico conquered once more by foreign troops.

On June 16 General Forey issued a decree by which Minister Saligny was authorized to name thirty-five Mexican citizens, who would elect three citizens who were to form the chief executive authority. The triumvirate chosen consisted of Almonte, Mariano Salas, and Labastida, Archbishop of Mexico. The latter being absent in Europe his place was filled temporarily by Ormaechea, Bishop of Tulancingo. The junta of thirty-five citizens chose an Assembly of Notables which adopted the following propositions: "1st, the Mexican nation adopts for its form of government a moderate, hereditary monarchy, with a Roman Catholic prince; 2d, the sovereign will assume the title of 'Emperor of Mexico'; 3d, the imperial crown of Mexico is tendered to his imperial and royal highness Prince Ferdinand Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, for himself and his descendants; 4th, in the event that, owing to circumstances impossible to foresee Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian should not take possession of the throne tendered him, the Mexican nation appeals to the benevolence of his majesty Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, to nominate another Catholic prince."

Maximilian was born at Schoenbrunn, on July 6, 1832. He devoted himself to the naval profession and travelled considerably. In 1856 he was the guest of Napoleon III in

Paris, and in 1857 he married Marie Charlotte Amélie, a daughter of Leopold I, of Belgium, and of Louise of Orleans. It was she who became the unfortunate Empress Carlota. Maximilian rendered important services to the Austrian navy, and was later appointed by his brother, the Emperor Francis Joseph, governor-general of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom which he ruled with moderation. After retiring from that position he resided at Miramar where he devoted himself to the study of art, literature, and science. It was there that the delegation from Mexico offered him the imperial crown which had fallen from the brow of Montezuma, and three centuries later from that of Iturbide. It was not to remain long on the head of Maximilian. The new Emperor was of very prepossessing appearance: he was tall, had a high forehead, blonde hair and beard parted in the middle, gentle blue eyes, and a frank and intelligent expression. His wife Carlota was a dignified and charming woman.

Maximilian wished to be assured that he was the choice of the Mexican people for their ruler, and an election was held under the direction of the French, which naturally resulted in favor of the Austrian archduke. Maximilian, however, already considered himself Emperor and went to London and to Paris to settle financial affairs and to obtain from Napoleon guarantees as to the stability of his throne. On April 9, 1864, he renounced for himself and descendants all rights to the Austrian throne, and on the next day he formally accepted the crown of Mexico. He also signed a treaty with France by which he agreed that the Mexican government should pay two hundred and seventy million francs for the cost of the French expedition till July 1, with interest at three per centum per annum, besides four hundred thousand francs for each transport service for military supplies, and one thousand francs for the maintenance of each French soldier. There were three secret articles which stipulated that Maximilian would follow the liberal policy outlined by General Forey. Napoleon agreed to reduce his

army in Mexico to twenty thousand men who would evacuate the country gradually and be replaced by Mexican troops. After accepting at Miramar the crown of Mexico the new Emperor and his wife went to Rome, where Maximilian had a conference with the pope, and finally the imperial couple arrived at Vera Cruz on May 28, 1864.

Meanwhile the military intervention in Mexico had progressed. Forey and Saligny were recalled, the former being rewarded for his services by the marshal's bâton, and General Bazaine, who had distinguished himself in routing Comonfort, assumed command of the army, on October 1, 1863. He was also to replace Saligny as diplomatic agent. His best known generals were Castagny, Félix Douay, and Du Barail, and General Marquez commanded a division of twelve thousand six hundred Mexicans. Ex-President Comonfort, minister of war, directed the Juarist troops, whose leading generals were Porfirio Diaz, Gonzalez Ortega, Doblado, Uraga, Arteaga, Negrete, and Berriozabal. In spite of the heroic efforts of the republican forces they were defeated nearly everywhere by the French and the Imperialists. On November 14 Comonfort was killed in an ambush, and the republicans lost Querétaro, Guanajuato, Guadalajara, Oaxaca, Chihuahua, and many other important towns. Juarez was obliged to change the seat of his government from San Luis Potosi to Saltillo, then to Monterey and Chihuahua, and to retire later to the frontier town of Paso del Norte. The triumph of the Imperalists seemed complete.

After landing at Vera Cruz Maximilian and Carlota proceeded to Puebla and then to the capital, which they entered amidst great enthusiasm. The Regency which had thus far governed in the name of the Emperor was dissolved on the arrival of the latter, and Maximilian's personal reign began. He had excellent intentions and wished to "regenerate" Mexico, as Napoleon I had wished to do with Spain, but the Mexicans, like the Spaniards, refused to be "regenerated" by foreigners, and the Emperor from Austria had a difficult

task to perform. He soon came in conflict with the clerical party, as he would not allow the property sequestrated from the Church to be restored, inasmuch as it was in the hands of third parties. He was gentle and humane, but he followed evil advice when he issued the decree of October 3, 1865, which declared "that all persons carrying arms against the Empire, as well as all persons aiding them by selling them arms or supplies, were to be tried by courts-martial and condemned to death." It was stated incorrectly that Juarez had abandoned the country and had gone to Santa Fé. "Henceforth the struggle will no longer be between opposing systems of government, but between the Empire established by the will of the people and the criminals and bandits which infest the country." This decree was unfortunately enforced on October 21 by Colonel Mendez, who having captured Generals Arteaga and Salazar, Colonels Villagomez and Jesus Diaz, and Captain Gonzalez, had them shot at Uruapan in Michoacan, where the decree had not yet been promulgated. This barbarous deed alienated many persons from the Empire.

The term of office of Juarez had expired on December 1, 1864, but in November he had declared that his powers continued until constitutional elections could peaceably be held. General Gonzalez Ortega, the President of the Supreme Court, had protested against this decree, but it was approved by the great majority of the Republicans, who understood how dangerous it would be to effect a change in the government at such a critical period in the history of the Republic. Juarez, besides, was acting with great energy, and his efforts were soon to meet with success. Help came to him from the United States.

From the very beginning the French intervention in Mexico had been regarded very unfavorably by the government at Washington, but as long as the Civil War lasted it was impossible for the United States to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. In April, 1865, however, the gallant Lee surrendered his sword to Grant at Appomattox and the great Civil War

came to an end. Secretary Seward, therefore, demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico and the cessation of colonization schemes in that country. It was very humiliating to appear to yield to threats but it would have been madness on the part of Napoleon III to engage in a war with the United States to maintain Maximilian, the Austrian, on his Mexican throne. The Emperor of the French resolved therefore to withdraw his troops. This was to be done in three detachments, "the first to depart about November, 1866, the second in March, 1867, and the third in the following November." The French could say that they had followed the Miramar convention, while Maximilian had not paid the sums agreed upon. This evidently was not his fault, and the blame for the failure of this ill advised expedition lies entirely with the Emperor of the French who, as we have already said, suffered greatly from the consequences.

Maximilian wished to abdicate, but hesitated, while his devoted wife started for Europe to see Napoleon and endeavor to obtain the continuation of his support. She had a useless interview with him in August, 1866, after which she went to Rome and soon afterwards showed signs of insanity. She was taken by her brother, the King of the Belgians, to the palace of Tervueren, near Brussels, and her malady increased after the death of her husband. The imperial couple had led an honorable and unostentatious life in Mexico, residing principally at the castle of Chapultepec.

Maximilian knew that his throne was supported principally by the French troops and wished to return to Europe with them. At Orizaba he met General Castelnau, who had just arrived from France and who urged him, in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, to leave Mexico. He heard, at that time, of the failure of his wife's mission to France and of her illness, and he thought again of abdicating. He submitted the question to his Council, at Orizaba, on November 25, 1866, and was advised by a small majority to defer the abdication until the interests at stake could be

better secured. The church party and influential conservatives promised their hearty support, Generals Marquez and Miramon, who had just returned from Europe, offered their services, and the abdication was said to be an act of weakness. Even Maximilian's mother had written to him that he should not yield to pressure and compromise his honor. The Emperor did not wish to leave his adherents at a very critical moment and returned to the capital. There, in January, 1867, he again held a council to determine whether to continue the struggle for the Empire or not, and again, by a bare majority, he was advised not to abdicate. General Bazaine, who was on the eve of returning to Europe with the remaining detachment of the French army, strongly urged the abdication of the Emperor. There is no doubt that Napoleon III, who was kind hearted, wished to see Maximilian return in safety to Austria, and this could only be done while the French troops were still in Mexico. The Mexican Emperor, however, unlike Bazaine at Metz in 1870, preferred death to dishonor, and resolved to defend to the last his adherents and himself.

The cause of the Imperialists, since the French had begun to concentrate for their departure, had been almost desperate. The republican troops soon occupied the towns of Northern Mexico, among them Chihuahua, where they established the seat of their government in June, 1866. In January, 1867, it was transferred to Zacatecas, which, however, Miramon captured a few days later, Juarez and his cabinet barely escaping falling into his hands. On February 1 Miramon was totally defeated at San Jacinto by Escobedo who had been very successful as General-in-chief of the Army of the North, and Juarez established his government at San Luis Potosi.

Miramon, after his defeat, went to Querétaro, and there Maximilian concentrated his army to resist the advance of the republicans. The town was very loyal to the Emperor, but the situation was strategically bad, as Querétaro is surrounded by hills. It was, as Maximilian said, a "mouse-trap."

The Imperialists did not prevent the junction of the republican forces of the North and the West, and on March 10 the latter completely invested the town. Their army was commanded by Escobedo and Corona and numbered about thirty thousand men, whilst Maximilian had only nine thousand.

The following description, given by H. H. Bancroft of Maximilian's generals is very interesting: "The brave and dashing Miramon, handsome in face, with mustache and imperial, and with a career almost unequalled for brilliancy at so early an age, for he was only in the middle of the thirties, made a good impression; but his military science was indifferent. So they said was that of Marquez, a keen-eyed little fellow, with sinister, swarthy face and full beard, and known for his cruelty as the Alva of Mexico. The loyal Mejía was a tawny, unprepossessing Indian, with high cheek-bones and an enormous mouth, surrounded by scanty bristles. He was a god among the natives of the adjoining Sierra Gorda, who called him by the endearing name of Don Tomasito. Mendez was also classed as an Indian. He was plump and rather handsome, devoted to the Emperor and beloved by his soldiers, yet not free from cruelty. Unimposing in stature but daring in character, these men formed with Maximilian the so-called five magic M's of the empire." There were also Severo Castillo, Prince Salm-Salm, and the artillerist Avellano. The ablest of Maximilian's ministers was Vidaurri.

During the siege the Emperor displayed such coolness and bravery that Miramon decorated him with a bronze medal, in the name of the army. Miramon also distinguished himself in many brilliant sorties, especially on April 27, and the besieged defended themselves with the greatest gallantry. It was evident, however, that they must succumb if not reinforced, and, on March 22, Marquez had succeeded in leaving Querétaro with twelve hundred cavalry, with orders to return with the garrison of the capital and attack the besieging army in the rear so as to allow the besieged to escape.

Texas prisoners at Salado drawing black beans to see who should die. *From the original in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.*

The French embassy at Austin. *From the original in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.*

Marquez, who had been named Lieutenant of the Empire, went to Mexico, but, instead of returning to Querétaro, he marched with five thousand men to the relief of Puebla which was besieged by Porfirio Diaz. The latter took possession of the town, on April 2, and together with Guadarrama, who had been detached by Escobedo, he routed Marquez, on April 10, and all hope of relieving the besieged Emperor was lost.

At Querétaro the people of the town and the army suffered greatly, but the defense continued valiantly until May 14, when it was decided to endeavor to abandon the town the next day. Everything was prepared for the departure when, through treachery, Maximilian was captured. During the night of May 14 Colonel Miguel Lopez, one of the Emperor's most trusted officers, betrayed him to his enemies. Lopez had an interview with Escobedo, and disclosing the plans of the Imperialists, agreed to introduce republican soldiers into the town. He did this, and the main posts were secured by the republicans. Lopez seems to have wished to save Maximilian's life and warned him, early in the morning of May 15, of his danger. The Emperor refused to hide himself or to mount a horse, as his companions had to walk, and with a small party, among whom were Mejía, Castillo, and Salm-Salm, reached the Cerro de las Campanas. It was found impossible to hold the point for any length of time, and Maximilian surrendered his sword to General Escobedo. Miramon and Mendez were wounded and captured, and the latter was summarily shot, in retaliation for the execution of General Arteaga under the decree of October 3, 1865.

Maximilian was lodged at first at the Convent de la Cruz, and later was imprisoned with Miramon and Mejía in the Convent of the Capuchins. Orders were soon received to arraign him and his generals before a court-martial, in accordance with the decree of Juarez, of January 25, 1862, against traitors and invaders. The trial began on June 13 and was held in the Iturbide theatre, a name of bad omen

for the second Mexican emperor, and Maximilian was defended by Mariano Riva Palacio, Martinez de la Torre, E. M. Ortega, and J. M. Vasquez. The principal charges against him were filibustering, treason, and issuing the decree of October 3, 1865. It was in vain that his lawyers represented that he had been legally elected emperor and was no traitor, and that he had revoked the decree of October; he was condemned to death on June 15. General Escobedo approved the sentence and ordered the execution to take place on June 16, but it was postponed for three days, by order of Juarez. Miramon and Mejía had been also condemned to death.

The representatives of all the foreign governments, at that time in Mexico, exerted themselves to obtain mercy from Juarez, and the American government joined in those efforts. Great pressure was brought to bear on Juarez from all sides, but he was inflexible, and the execution took place at seven o'clock on June 19, 1867, upon the Cerro de las Campanas. Maximilian died like a hero, and his unfortunate companions likewise. The Emperor had yielded the centre, the place of honor, to Miramon and had pressed Mejía to his breast. He had bidden the soldiers fire straight at his heart and had uttered a few patriotic and noble words.

The fate of Maximilian excites the deepest sympathy, for he was a chivalric man and had led a blameless life. It has been said that Juarez could not spare his life, because it was necessary to warn usurpers and foreigners that they should not attempt to overthrow republican institutions. In our opinion, however, the death of Maximilian was an unnecessary cruelty, which is almost as blamable as the executions of Hidalgo, Morelos, Iturbide, and Guerrero. It is very unfortunate that the Mexicans committed so many ruthless deeds before they succeeded in establishing a stable form of republican government. Very different has been the history of the United States, where, at the conclusion of the great Civil War, not one of the Confederate chiefs was put to death by the victorious Federals. On the contrary

Grant gave most generous terms to Lee and sent the soldier boys back to their plows on their own horses. Juarez might have treated Maximilian with clemency and he would have been approved by posterity. He chose severity, and his action will ever be considered one of those doubtful deeds prompted by policy, which no man with a truly great character would commit. The Second Christian Empire in Mexico ended as tragically as the First, and Maximiliano Primero had the same fate as Agustin Primero.

## CHAPTER XV

### *THE RESTORED REPUBLIC*

After Porfirio Diaz had captured Puebla and had defeated General Marquez at San Lorenzo, on April 10, 1867, the latter returned to Mexico, which was forthwith besieged by the republican troops. Marquez defended the city with great stubbornness, even after the fall of Querétaro had permitted large reinforcements to be sent to Diaz. The Imperialists were repulsed in a sortie during the night of June 17, and two days later the Austrians, who had fought with them, thus far, capitulated by direction of their *chargé*. Marquez then resigned his position and went into hiding with his family. On June 20, 1867, the city surrendered, and General Diaz prepared for the late partisans of Maximilian three prisons, which were soon full. On July 15, President Juarez entered the capital, amidst the deceitful enthusiasm which generally accompanies the triumph of the victor. He commuted the death-sentence of Imperialists condemned at Querétaro, but he allowed O'Horan, the political prefect, to be executed, whilst Vidaurri was shot without any trial. Marquez and two of his former ministers, Lacunza and Arellano, succeeded in escaping from the city and leaving the country. Many of the Imperialist prisoners were condemned to imprisonment, others to pay a fine, and twelve were expelled. Finally, a general amnesty was granted on October 13, 1870, from which were excepted, however, Archbishop Labastida and Generals Uraga and Marquez.

Before this, Santa Anna, who had returned to his native country, had been condemned to banishment for eight years. He died in Mexico City, however, on June 21, 1876.

There was little military resistance to the republican government after the capitulation of the capital, and Juarez soon surrendered his discretional powers. He was elected constitutional president, and on December 25, 1867, assumed the duties of his office. Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada was elected President of the Supreme Court. Juarez endeavored, at that time, to effect some reforms in the constitution, but failed, as he had presented them in a manner which displeased the liberals. Diplomatic relations were gradually renewed with the European nations, which had all acknowledged Maximilian's government, whilst the United States and the Spanish American republics had acknowledged that of Juarez.

In 1868, the state of Morelos was formed, and in 1869, that of Hidalgo, in honor of the patriots of the war for independence. Insurrections occurred, *pronunciamientos* were issued, and General Miguel Negrete and several other leaders in the contest against Maximilian declared against the government. The movements were repressed with energy by the president, who was again a candidate for reëlection in 1871. Porfirio Diaz and Lerdo de Tejada were also candidates, and none having obtained the requisite majority, the Congress elected Juarez president, and he began his new term of four years on December 1, 1871. The Porfiristas, or partisans of Diaz, however, had not recognized the validity of the election, and had proclaimed on November 8, 1871, the "Plan de la Noria," declaring for a reconstruction of the government by a convention chosen directly by the people, and which was to form a new constitution and elect a provisional president. Trial by jury was also to be established. Although the "Plan" was supported by well-known military leaders it was not successful. There were several important engagements between the insurgents and the government troops, as the one at Cerro de la Bufa in Zacatecas,

where General Rocha routed an army of nine thousand men under Treviño, on March 2, 1872. It is a strange fact that men who had fought bravely against foreign intervention should, so soon after their victory, be in conflict with one another, and, in reality, endeavor to destroy their own work.

Juarez deserves great credit for now resisting his former lieutenants in the war against the Empire with as much energy as he had displayed in his struggle against Maximilian and his generals. All parties recognized his merit after his sudden death, on July 18, 1872. Magnificent funeral honors were paid him, monuments were erected to himself and his wife, and pensions were given to his children. The Mexican historians praise highly the courage, honesty and firmness of Benito Juarez, and although they criticise his tenacity in too long retaining his office of president, they believe that he clung to that position through patriotic motives and to consolidate the Republic. Diaz, his opponent in 1871, has done likewise, to the great benefit of his country. Without doubt, Juarez saved the liberal and republican institutions of Mexico, for adversity never subdued him, and good fortune never made him lose sight of his designs. It is unfortunate that his character was not great enough to place him above the political methods of his compatriots, which consisted in putting to death the defeated enemy. Without clemency and magnanimity there are no true greatness and true power.

The President of the Supreme Court, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, succeeded Juarez as provisional president and retained the latter's ministers. He proclaimed an amnesty in favor of the revolutionists, which Diaz for some time refused to accept, and he was elected constitutional president, and inaugurated on December 1, 1872. He gave no place in his cabinet to the Porfiristas, but retained Juarez's ministers. In January, 1873, the railroad from Mexico to Vera Cruz was inaugurated with great pomp, and soon afterwards a terrible insurrection broke out in the district of Tepic. Manuel Lozada, cacique of Alica, declared war against the

government and marched against Guadalajara at the head of eight thousand men. He was met by General Ramón Corona with about two thousand men and routed. The government troops finally occupied the district of Tepic, and Lozada was captured and shot.

Peace was hardly restored when the country was agitated by religious disputes. The laws relating to religious communities were strictly enforced, fifteen foreign Jesuits were expelled from the country, two hundred nuns were turned out of their convents, and even the Sisters of Charity were banished in 1874, to the great sorrow of the majority of Mexicans. On May 29, 1873, the Congress approved the proposed reform laws, and on September 25, 1873, they were incorporated into the constitution. "The church and the state were declared independent of each other, and freedom of religion was proclaimed; marriage became a civil contract; no religious institution could acquire real estate or hold mortgage thereon; the religious oath was done away with, an assertion on the part of the witness that he would speak the truth being only required; forced labor was forbidden, and the liberty of man, in respect of labor, education, and religion, declared inviolable. As a consequence, the law neither recognized nor permitted the establishment of monastic orders of any denomination whatever."

In May, 1875, President Lerdo was invested by the Congress, at his own request, with extraordinary powers in the matters of war and finance. He was evidently aiming at a reëlection, although his party, in the time of Juarez, had been opposed to such a step. The president had not acted with tact in the cases of the Porfiristas and the former Juaristas, and had lost the great popularity which he had enjoyed at the beginning of his term of office. It was not astonishing, therefore, that, according to the peculiar Mexican customs of "Plans," there should have been one formed against him. On January 15, 1876, General Fidencio Hernandez *pronounced* against the government, and having proclaimed himself governor of Oaxaca, published the "Plan

de Tuxtepec," by which Porfirio Diaz was to be general-in-chief of the army. The latter had crossed the Rio Grande in December 1875, and was residing in Brownsville when the new plan was issued. He thereupon returned to Mexico with General Manuel González, and on March 31 published the "Plan de Palo Blanco," which was that of Tuxtepec slightly modified. José María Iglesias, the President of the Supreme Court, was invested, by the reformed plan, with the executive power, but he was required to recognize the plan. If he did not accept its conditions, the general-in-chief was to be chief executive. Iglesias rejected the plan of Diaz, and on October 26, 1876, as Lerdo had been declared reëlected, the President of the Supreme Court protested against the illegality of the election, abandoned the capital and claimed that he was the constitutional president of the republic until legal elections could be held.

Meanwhile, the exploitation of the two "plans" of Tuxtepec and of Palo Blanco had been followed by some severe fighting, Diaz displaying great energy, travelling from North Mexico to New Orleans, thence in disguise to Vera Cruz, and reaching Oaxaca with great difficulty. On November 16, 1876, he completely defeated General Alatorre at Tecoac. On November 20, President Lerdo abandoned the capital, and proceeding to Acapulco, embarked for New York. General Diaz, after his victory, entered Mexico City, and on November 26 organized a government. Iglesias was in favor of a strict observance of the constitution and had declared that "above the constitution there was nothing; above the constitution, no one," [*sobre la constitución, nada; sobre la constitución, nadie*]. He rejected the conditions of Diaz, who, entrusting the government to General Juan N. Mendez, left the capital at the head of an army of twelve thousand men to overthrow Iglesias, who had been recognized as chief executive by a large portion of the country. Diaz met with little resistance, and Iglesias, having been abandoned by most of his partisans, embarked at Manzanillo for San Francisco.

On February 11, 1877, General Porfirio Diaz again took charge of the government as provisional executive. He was soon afterwards elected constitutional president, and was inaugurated on May 5, 1877, for the term ending November 30, 1880. He was born on September 15, 1830, in the city of Oaxaca, studied for the bar in the capital, but began early a military career, opposing first Santa Anna, then fighting for reform with Juarez, and distinguishing himself greatly in the war against the Empire of Maximilian. Although he acquired power by revolutionary methods, his administration has been enlightened and progressive. He has not shared Lerdo's fears of foreign influence in the building of railroads in Mexico, but has encouraged American enterprise, by which many roads have been constructed. He settled amicably all points of controversy with the United States over border troubles. In 1877 and 1878 he easily subdued movements in favor of Lerdo de Tejada, one of which was led by the celebrated General Escobedo.

In 1878 the constitution was amended so that no president or governor should be reëligible till four years from the cessation of his functions, and although there was a strong party in favor of the reëlection of Porfirio Diaz, he was not a candidate for the presidency in 1880. General Manuel González was elected to that office and he assumed it on December 1, 1880. General Diaz accepted the position of minister of *fomento* or encouragement, but resigned the following year. The presidency of Manuel González marks an interesting period in the history of Mexico. Señor Verdía says, "It was the first time in our republican history that the public power was transmitted peacefully." There were no *pronunciamientos* from 1880 to 1884, and the administration of González was distinguished by internal development, although the government was embarrassed by inadequate financial resources. Diplomatic relations were renewed with Great Britain; they had been renewed with France in 1880. An amendment to the constitution of 1857 was made which took from the President of the Supreme

Court the right to succeed provisionally to the presidency of the republic, but gave that right to the president of the Senate or to the president of the permanent committee, in case the Senate was not in session at the time of the vacancy. In 1896, the succession of secretary, or minister, of foreign affairs was substituted for that of the president of the Senate, and in 1904 the office of vice-president was created.

General Diaz was elected president in 1884, and was inaugurated on December 1. He succeeded in reducing the foreign debt, and his administration was so prosperous that the country desired to retain his services as chief executive. The constitution was amended, therefore, in 1888, to permit two consecutive terms; and in 1892 all limitations on the eligibility of a president were abolished. President Diaz has occupied the presidential chair continuously since his second election in 1884, and the Republic has prospered marvellously in commerce, agriculture, and mining, in an excellent system of public schools, and in a great engineering work, the drainage canal leading from the City of Mexico to and through the mountains, which has solved the problem of protecting the Valley of Mexico from inundations.

General Diaz was aided in his patriotic efforts by able ministers: Ignacio Mariscal, secretary of foreign affairs or *relaciones;* Ramón Corral, Manuel Romero, and Manuel González Cosio, interior or *hacienda;* Castro Pacheco and Manuel Fernandez Leal, encouragement or *fomento;* Joaquín Baranda and Justino Fernandez, justice and education; Pedro Hinojosa, Felipe B. Berriozabal, and Bernardo Reyes, war and navy; Francisco Z. Meña, communications and public works; and José Y. Limantour, treasury.

The principal Mexican writers, from the beginning of the nineteenth century to our day, are the poets, Joaquín Fernandez Lizardi, F. M. Sánchez de Tagle, José G. de la Cortina, Ignacio Rodriguez Galván, José Joaquín Pesado, Manuel Carpio, Eduardo de Goroztiza, Fernando Calderón, Andrés Quintana Roo, P. J. Villaseñor, Francisco González Bocanegra, Marcos Arróniz, Juan Valle, Manuel Acuña,

Antonio Plaza, José Rosas Moreno, Manuel M. Flores, Manuel Gutierrez Nájera, Guillermo Prieto, Salvador Diaz Mirón, Juan de D. Peza, Vicente Riva Palacio, José Peón Contreras, Justo Sierra, Luis G. Urbina, and Amado Nervo; the novelists, Joaquín F. Lizardi, Ignacio M. Altamirano, Vicente Riva Palacio, Justo Sierra, José T. de Cuellar, Fernando Orozco y Berra, Francisco Zarco, Florencio del Castillo, Pedro Castera, Rafael Delgado, and José López Portillo y Rojos; the historians, José Fernando Ramirez, Alfredo Chavero, Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, Vicente Riva Palacio, Carlos M. de Bustamante, Lucas Alamán, Justo Sierra, Serapio Baqueiro, Crescencio Carrillo, Eligio Ancona, Lorenzo de Zavala, José L. Mora, José Bocanegra, José M. Iglesias, José R. Barcena, Juan D. Arias, Anastasio Zerecero Agustin Rivera, Antonio Gay, Francisco Frejes, Luis Pérez Verdía, Ezequiel Chavez, Nicolás León and Pablo Macedo; the critics, Mariano Beristain, José G. de la Cortina, and Francisco Pimentel; the philosophers, Francisco S. Maldorado, Clemente Munguía, Ignacio Ramirez, José Luis Verdía, Gabino Barreda, Luis G. Cuevas, and Porfirio Parra; the jurists, Manuel de la Peña, José M. Lacunza, Mariano Yañez, Juan Rodriguez de San Miguel, Teodosio Lares, Justo Sierra O'Reilly, Ignacio L. Vallarta, and José M. Lozano; the linguist, M. de San Juan Crisóstomo Nájera; the preacher, Ignacio Montes de Oca.

Among the distinguished artists of the nineteenth century are the painters José Antonio Castro, Felipe Gutierrez, Salomé Piña, Felix Parra, and Ocaranza y Velasco; and the sculptors, Perusquía, Victoriano Acuña, Guerra, Manuel Contreras, Miguel Noreña, and the brothers Islas, authors of the tomb of Juarez in the Pantheon of San Fernando.

The Republic of Mexico is divided into a Federal District, twenty-seven States, and two Territories, as follows: Federal District (City of Mexico and adjacent territory); the states of Aguas Calientes, Campeche, Chiapas, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Colima, Durango, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Hidalgo, Jalisco, Mexico, Michoacan, Morelos, Nuevo León, Oaxaca,

Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis Potosi, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, Tlaxcala, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, Zacatecas; the territories of Baja (Lower) California, and Tepic. The states are free and independent in the control of their internal affairs; each has a governor, a legislature, and a state judiciary.

The census of 1900 disclosed the population of the principal cities: Mexico, 368,777; Puebla, 88,684; Guadalajara, 83,934; San Luis Potosi, 69,050; León, 58,426; Monterey, 45,695; Pachuca, 40,487; Zacatecas, 39,912; Guanajuato, 39,404; Merida, 36,935; Querétaro, 34,576; Morelia, 33,890; Oaxaca, 32,437; Orizaba, 31,512; Aguas Calientes, 30,872; Saltillo, 26,807; Durango, 26,425.

The total population in 1900 was 13,545,462, of whom nineteen per cent. were white, forty-three per cent. Indian, and thirty-eight per cent. of mixed blood. There were about eighty thousand foreigners.

Agriculture and commerce have progressed considerably under the enlightened administration of President Diaz, but Mexico is principally noted for its mineral resources. "For sixteen hundred miles, the Sierra Madre of the Pacific forms one of the richest mining districts of the world; its finest part being the western slope, three thousand to eight thousand feet high. Almost every valuable metal known is here in profusion." There is also in the republic great wealth in gems of all kinds.

Mr. Charles F. Lummis, in *Harper's Magazine* (1897), remarks of modern Mexico: "It is not far to remember when there was not a railroad in Mexico, and when the material conditions were in proportion. The actual Mexico has forty railroads, with nearly seven thousand miles of track, and everything that this implies. Its transportation facilities are practically as good as those of our Western States; and the investment is far more profitable. It is netted with telegraph lines (with the cheapest tariffs in America), dotted with post-offices, schools, costly buildings, for public business and public beneficence. It is freer than it was ever before,

with free schools, free speech, free press. It is happier than ever before, and more prosperous than ever in the bonanza days of the magnificent silver kings of Zacatecas and Guanajuato. . . .

"Even to one as familiar with the swift development of parts of our West as with the more conservative growth of our East, it is surprising to watch the gait of almost every Mexican city in municipal improvements. Modern waterworks to replace the fine old Spanish aqueducts; modern sewerage to replace the street sinks of centuries; modern lighting, modern transit, modern health departments, public buildings better than our average towns of the like population think they can afford; splendid prisons, markets, hospitals, asylums, training-schools, these are some of the things which the 'despotism' of Diaz is planting through the length and breadth of the country. As for schools, it has sometimes made me smile, but oftener turned my eyes moist, to note the perfect mania to have them—and to have them of the best.

"Every state capital has its free public 'model schools' on which it lavishes a wealth of love and money, and the state earnestly follows its lead. There is now in Mexico no hamlet of one hundred Indians which has not its free public school." In regard to schools we may add that primary education is nearly everywhere compulsory.

The progress made by Mexico in the last twenty years is due almost entirely to President Diaz, who has established peace, encouraged the material advancement of the country, adopted a sound financial policy, and eradicated all causes which could bring about political dissensions and perturbations of peace. It is, therefore, interesting to see the explanation of his policy as given by the President of the Republic himself, and we translate from Dr. Nicolás León's *Historia de México* part of an address delivered by President Diaz at a banquet tendered him on the occasion of his reëlection, a few years ago, to the presidency: "To restore peace to a people whose moral sense has been nourished for more than half a century in frequent and bloody struggles of force

against right, the acts of one man are not sufficient, whatever be his talents and prestige; one needs the positive and very vigilant labor of many men armed with a powerful, intelligent and fanatical will to harmonize the comfort and interests of society with those of all and each one of the members thereof, and men who possess such abnegation that they may receive with serenity, and pardon the most injurious and incredible accusations, whilst the masses are beginning to understand that such great advantages are being prepared for them. . . .

"The government, freed from the forced guard which the spectre of revolution imposed upon it, and its confidence in the future strengthened, called to the labor of public administration all those ex-revolutionists whose honor, ability, talents and reputation could serve the fatherland. (I am glad to be able to declare here that all those who have been called have performed their duty loyally.)

"Once the government felt that it was supported by all Mexicans without distinction of parties, and with equal confidence in the patriotism of all, it put into execution its program so often announced, which is condensed in the following words: Little Politics, Much Administration.

"And from that time the government extended the railway in all directions, and on the whole national territory the telegraph, with night service, reduced tariffs, and joined to the intercontinental cables; it promulgated fiscal and banking laws as transcendental as that which freed commerce from internal excise (*alcabalas interiores*); and with all its energy it proceeded to construct ports, lighthouses and other great works protective of hygiene and commerce, which for future generations will be as many signs of our present civilization; it perfected the mail, giving cheap and daily communication to all the cities, towns and villages of the Republic, with postal cards, and postal notes, and with representation in the Postal Convention of the civilized world, and it regulated the fiscal credit with great advantage to the mercantile credit.

"These are, briefly stated, the true factors, if not directly of peace, of the harmony of the interests, which, for their own advantage, united the will of all the citizens in favor of peace and created this pleasing atmosphere, this general welfare in which we live, which brings about festivals like this one, and which, finally, is nothing else but the natural manifestation that all the permissible individual ambitions are satisfied, and that the others are in a sure way of becoming so, and this is also the proof that I wished to give you that true peace, peace rooted in the hearts of all, which is the solid and fruitful one, cannot be the work of one man, or of many men, but of all the active members of the societies which have the good fortune to enjoy it. It is sufficient honor to be one of those members."

When we consider the Mexican republic we may say with Señor Verdía that it is not in vain that so much blood and so many tears have been shed on Mexican soil. The country of the Aztecs and of the Spanish conquerors, the country of Hidalgo and Morelos and of the men who lost their lives for its independence, the country of Juarez and of Diaz, is now prosperous and happy. It was worth passing through the ordeal of countless wars and revolutions finally to enjoy peace and liberty.

The palace, Santa Fé, New Mexico, built in 1605, thus antedating the settlement of Jamestown by two years and that of Plymouth by fifteen years.

## CHAPTER XVI

### *LA SALLE IN TEXAS*

Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, the only survivors of the unfortunate Narvaez expedition to Florida, were the first Europeans who trod the soil of Texas, and this on their way to Mexico, after their shipwreck in 1528 and their captivity among the Indians.

Coronado's expedition to New Mexico in 1540 concerns the history of Texas, because Coronado must have crossed the northern part of that region, and because, from New Mexico visits or *entradas* of missionaries and soldiers were made to the country which is now called Texas. Indeed, a settlement of Tiguex Indians from New Mexico was made in 1862 at Isleta, a pueblo about twelve miles from El Paso, and this, according to Professor George P. Garrison, is the oldest town within the limits of Texas. "It could have had no Spaniard," he adds, "among its population other than one or two padres, and for this reason it cannot be properly regarded as a Spanish colony." The first attempt at a settlement by white men was made by the French, and this through an error of the great explorer, Robert Cavelier de La Salle.

On April 6, 1682, La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi and took possession, in the name of Louis XIV, of the country watered by that river and its tributaries. He then addressed two memorials to the French Government, asking for the means to build a fort on the Mississippi, to settle the region lately discovered, and to guard it against

foreigners. The gospel might be preached to the Indians and conquests be effected for the King. Indeed, La Salle proposed to form an army of fifteen thousand Indians and to make conquest of New Biscay, in Mexico, a country rich in silver mines and defended by a few Spaniards. Count Peñalosa, who had been governor of New Mexico, made, at that time, a proposition of the same kind to the King of France, but his plan was rejected and La Salle's was accepted. The latter had an interview with Louis XIV himself, who was favorably impressed with the explorer's projects, as was the King's able minister, Seignelay, the son of the great Colbert.

Four vessels were given to La Salle, and one hundred soldiers were enrolled, besides mechanics and laborers. Thirty volunteers joined the expedition, and for colonizing the country, named Louisiana by the discoverer, there were in the party several families and a number of girls, future wives of the settlers. There were as missionaries three Sulpitian priests, one of whom was Cavelier, La Salle's brother, and three Récollets, Zénobe Membré, the explorer's former companion, Anastase Douay, and Maxime Le Clerc. La Salle's nephews, Moranget and the boy Cavelier, and Joutel were also of the expedition. The latter had been a soldier for sixteen years, and his father had been gardener to La Salle's uncle. He was a man of judgment and courage and became the historian of the enterprise.

The small fleet carrying the people destined to colonize Louisiana was composed of four vessels, the *Joly* of the royal navy, thirty-six guns; the *Belle,* six guns; the *Aimable,* a store ship; and a ketch. The commander of the fleet was Beaujeu, but La Salle was to direct the route and to control on land the soldiers and the colonists. Beaujeu, who was an old captain of the royal navy, was much displeased at the authority given La Salle and protested against it to Minister Seignelay. He was obliged, however, to submit to the arrangement, and he and La Salle had many quarrels on the voyage of two months from Rochelle, which they

left, on July 24, 1684, for Santo Domingo. Anchor was cast at Petit Goave, and soon afterwards news was brought that the Spanish buccaneers had captured the ketch, *St. François,* laden with necessaries for the colony. This great loss was attributed to Beaujeu, who had not stopped at Port de Paix, as had been agreed upon at a council of officers.

At Santo Domingo some of La Salle's followers deserted him; some died of sickness; nearly all the remainder led a life of debauchery which poorly prepared them for the fatigues and labors which awaited them. The explorer himself lay for a long time grievously ill, and it was only at the end of November that the voyage was resumed. La Salle embarked on board the *Aimable* to protect her from her captain, Aigron, whom he distrusted, and the fleet went first to the Isle of Pines, off the coast of Cuba, and finally entered the Gulf of Mexico, the sea on which the Spaniards had forbidden all foreigners to sail, an interdiction which greatly irritated Louis XIV and to which he would not submit.

La Salle looked for the mouth of the Mississippi, but the "Hidden River" was not easy to find, and its discoverer sailed four hundred miles beyond it, mistaking the entrance of Matagorda Bay for the mouth of his river. There he landed, and ordered the *Aimable* and the *Belle* to enter the harbor. On February 20, 1685, while he was on shore watching the *Aimable,* he was informed that some of his men had been kidnapped by the Indians. He went to the village of the savages and recovered his men, but on returning to the shore he saw that the *Aimable* was aground on a reef. The greater part of the precious cargo was lost, including most of the baggage of the colonists, and the unfortunates encamped on the sand struggled against disease and the Indians. At that time Beaujeu prepared to return to France; but first he offered La Salle to go to Martinique for provisions and reinforcements. Thus, whatever had been his disagreement with the explorer, he certainly did all he could to help him in his hour of need.

La Salle refused Beaujeu's offer, saying that he had reached the mouth of the Mississippi which he had sought. Beaujeu, therefore, departed March 12, leaving La Salle not on Louisiana soil, but on the coast of the region known to us as Texas.

A fort was built on the shore, and Joutel was placed in command, while his chief started on an expedition which convinced him that he was not at the mouth of his river. This he was determined to find, but meanwhile he must provide shelter for his party, and he established them on a river which he called La Vache, and which the Spaniards named later Lavaca. He built a fort which he named St. Louis, and on October 31, 1685, set out with his brother Cavelier and fifty men on another search for the "fatal river," leaving Joutel in command of Fort St. Louis. La Salle's trusty companion has left us an interesting account of the life of the earliest settlers of Texas. He tells us how they hunted alligators and the buffalo, upon which latter animal the explorers depended for their "daily bread." He relates their mishaps and tells how he made his whole company of thirty-four persons work, the soldiers and the colonists, the women and the girls, and the three friars. In January, the elder Duhaut returned. He had gone with La Salle, but he had lost the party and had wandered a long time before he was able to find his way back to the fort.

At the end of March La Salle returned from his explorations. Soon afterwards the *Belle* was wrecked. There was now no way to sail away from the fort, and the undaunted leader of the unfortunate expedition resolved to go to Canada by the way of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers to get help for his colonists. He started with twenty-three men and advanced through an unknown country amidst all kinds of difficulties, meeting a party of the fierce Comanches and the Cenis Indians, who possessed the spoil of the earlier Spanish explorers. The Frenchmen bought five horses from the Cenis, and returned to the fort exhausted

and in rags. In their absence Joutel had ruled with firmness and wisdom, allowing Barbier, a young Canadian, to marry one of the girls in the party and forbidding the Marquis de la Sablonnière, a worthless nobleman, to contract a marriage with a girl of low rank.

La Salle saw that the only hope for his company lay in his obtaining help from Canada. There remained only forty-five persons of one hundred and eighty colonists, besides the crew of the *Belle.* These were nearly all destined to perish with their heroic chief. At Christmas midnight mass was celebrated, and on January 7, 1687, the heroic explorer started on his dangerous expedition north. About twenty persons were left at the fort with Barbier as commander, among them the friars, Membré and Le Clerc, the priest Chefdeville, who had been saved from the wreck of the *Belle,* seven women and girls, and several children. Joutel accompanied his chief, and in his journal records: "We parted from one another in such a tender and sad manner that we all had the secret presentiment that we would never see one another again." With La Salle were eighteen men, of whom the greater part were destined to a tragic end. Their journey through the wilderness was one of incredible hardships, in crossing rivers in boats of bullhide, in building huts of bark and meadow grass to protect themselves in bad weather, in meeting Indians and visiting them in their lodges, and in progressing slowly on their march toward the Mississippi, the Illinois, and Canada.

On March 15, La Salle sent a party to find some provisions which he had left in a *cache* on his preceding exploration. These were Duhaut, a man of some education; Liotot, the surgeon; the German Hiens, the buccaneer; Teissier, the former drunken pilot of the *Belle;* l'Archevêque, a servant of Duhaut; Saget, La Salle's servant; and Nika, his Indian hunter, who had accompanied him to Europe, and was devoted to him. The contents of the *cache* had spoiled, but Nika shot two buffaloes, and Saget was sent

to La Salle's camp to ask for horses to carry the meat. The next day Moranget, the explorer's nephew, De Marle, and Saget were sent to the hunters' camp. Moranget, who was rash and violent, seized the portions of the meat which belonged to Duhaut and his party and spoke to them angrily. Duhaut, who imagined he had a just cause of complaint against La Salle and who was irritated against Moranget, whom he disliked, made a plot with Liotot, who also hated Moranget, to kill him. Hiens and l'Archevêque joined the plot; Teissier neither aided nor opposed them. It was resolved to kill Saget, Nika and Moranget, and this was done at night by the surgeon Liotot, who struck the victims with an axe while they were sleeping. De Marle was compelled by the murderers to despatch Moranget, who had not died immediately after being struck by Liotot.

As his nephew and the party sent for the buffalo meat had not returned, La Salle felt anxious about them, and set out on March 19, with the friar Anastase Douay and an Indian guide, in search of his men. His camp was distant six miles from that of the hunters, and on advancing he fired his gun and pistol to attract their attention. Anastase Douay says that the great explorer had spoken to him of the debt he owed to God for having protected him for so many years in his travels; but La Salle had been very depressed of late. He had, however, quite regained his composure when he saw l'Archevêque on the bank of a small river. He asked him where Moranget was, and was answered with insolence. La Salle advanced to chastise l'Archevêque, who retreated towards the place where Duhaut and Liotot lay in ambuscade crouching in the grass. Two shots were fired; La Salle fell, pierced through the brain. Liotot exclaimed: "There you are, great Bashaw, there you are." The murderers stripped the body and left it in the bushes. Thus died, on March 19, 1687, on the southern branch of the Trinity river, in Texas, at the age of forty-three, the great discoverer of the mouth of the

Mississippi. He was a man of wonderful courage and energy, but of a haughty and stern disposition. He had, however, faithful friends, such as Tonty and Joutel, and all men who knew him admired his tenacity of purpose and his devotion to duty. Francis Parkman has said of him: "America owes him an enduring memory; for, in this masculine figure, she sees the pioneer who guided her to the possession of her richest heritage."

The murderers returned to La Salle's camp and spared the six persons who had not taken part in their plot: Joutel, Anastase Douay, Cavelier and his young nephew, the orphan Talon, and a boy named Barthélemy. The party spent some time with the Cenis Indians, and early in May Duhaut and Liotot were killed by Hiens and a French savage who had deserted from La Salle. Hiens then allowed Joutel and his companions to depart and to proceed on their journey towards the Mississippi. The party consisted of the six persons above named and of De Marle, an unwilling accomplice in the murder of Moranget, and of Teissier, whom Father Cavelier had pardoned. De Marle was drowned while bathing, but the other adventurers succeeded in reaching the Mississippi, and, finally, Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, where they met the chivalric Tonty, who gave them hospitality and furnished them with the means of reaching Canada. They arrived at Montreal on July 17, 1688, and going to Quebec embarked for France, where they related the sad story of La Salle's death which they had concealed thus far. Joutel lived many years after this, and his journal was of use to Iberville when that gallant Canadian sailor undertook the work left incomplete by La Salle. La Salle's brother, Father Cavelier, died wealthy and very old, and his nephew, Cavelier, became an officer in a regiment.

We have followed the wanderings of the men who had left Fort St. Louis of Texas in January 1687. Let us now see what was the fate of the twenty unfortunates whom La Salle had left at his settlement at Lavaca river near

the Bay of St. Louis, or Matagorda Bay, when with extraordinary courage he had started to obtain succor for them from far distant Canada.

The noble companion of La Salle, Henri de Tonty, having learned in September, 1688, of the death of his beloved chief, resolved to find out what had become of the settlers in Texas and to gather a party of Indians to invade northern Mexico. He started, therefore, from the Illinois country in December in a pirogue, accompanied by five Frenchmen, an Indian warrior, and two Indian slaves. Arrived at the village of the Caddos on Red river, his men, with the exception of a Frenchman and an Indian, refused to go any further, but he pushed on with these two to a village eighty leagues distant, where were, he was told, Hiens and his companions. The Indians denied any knowledge of the latter, but Tonty understood by their demeanor that they had perished. He was unable to proceed on his proposed journey and returned to Fort St. Louis of the Illinois in September 1689. His unsuccessful expedition had been daring and chivalric.

Tonty had endeavored to help the unfortunate settlers on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Very different had been the purpose of the Spaniards in Mexico, who had sent in vain four expeditions from Vera Cruz to endeavor to discover La Salle's settlement and to destroy it. A fifth expedition under Alonso de León started from Coahuila, and guided by a French prisoner, they succeeded in reaching the place where had stood Fort St. Louis. They found the buildings empty and in bad condition, as if they had been stormed, and of human beings there were only three lying dead on the prairie. A little later there arrived two men dressed like savages, who proved to be l'Archevêque and Grollet, a Frenchman who had long been with the Indians. From them the Spaniards learned that three months earlier the savages had killed all the settlers at Fort St. Louis, with the exception of the children of a man named Talon, an Italian, and a young man named Breman.

L'Archevêque and Grollet were living with the Tejas Indians, who are supposed to be the same as the Cenis. They were taken by De León to Mexico and sent to Spain, where, says Parkman, "they were thrown into prison with the intention of sending them back to labor in the mines." The surviving settlers were later given up to the Spaniards by the Indians. Two of the sons of Talon, while serving in the Spanish navy, were captured by the French and set free. Their brothers and sisters had been taken to Spain. The Italian was imprisoned in Mexico and nothing is known of Breman.

La Salle's Fort St. Louis was not of long duration, but its history is interesting, as it is connected with that of the intrepid explorer whose life is an imperishable example of courage and fortitude. La Salle's name will ever be remembered in the history of Texas in the exploration of which he lost his life by the treachery of his followers. It is to La Salle that Louisiana owes its soft and harmonious name.

## CHAPTER XVII

### *ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS*

THE expedition of De León to Fort St. Louis was the third sent by land from Mexico in search of the settlement which the French were said to have established on the Bay they called St. Louis and later St. Bernard, but which the Spaniards named Espiritu Santo, and is now known as Matagorda Bay. As De León had proved the fact that the French had endeavored to establish a colony on the Gulf coast, it was decided to send him again to the Bay of Espiritu Santo to destroy La Salle's Fort, to look for Frenchmen and to establish a mission among the Indians. All this was accomplished by De León in 1690; he burned what was left of Fort St. Louis, he recovered the survivors of La Salle's company, and with the help of Padre Manzanet he established the Mission San Francisco de los Tejas. This settlement was short lived, being abandoned in 1693. Its exact locality is not known, but Professor Garrison says that it was somewhere between the Trinity and the Neches, about forty-five miles in a southwesterly direction from the present town of Nacogdoches.

In 1691 there was another expedition under Captain Domingo Terán and Padre Manzanet, which reached the country of the Cadodachos, but returned to Mexico without establishing any mission. It was the expedition beyond the Rio Grande in search of La Salle's settlement that gave

the region its present name, Texas, a Tejas Indian word, for in the Texas country the Mission San Francisco had been founded. The official Spanish name, Nuevas Filipinas, gave way, after some time, to that of Texas.

Louis XIV, after La Salle's unfortunate expedition in 1684, made no attempt for several years to colonize Louisiana. He made war against a European coalition until the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, and it was only in October, 1698, that Iberville started from Brest to settle Louisiana. The settlement was accomplished with great difficulty. Iberville died in 1706, leaving his brother Bienville to struggle against innumerable obstacles. In 1712 Antoine Crozat, a wealthy merchant, received the grant of Louisiana for fifteen years, with exclusive right to trade and with permission to open and work mines, yielding to the king the fourth part of the gold and silver and the tenth part of all other metals.

The territory of which the exclusive commerce was granted to Crozat was described as being comprised in part between Old and New Mexico, and Carolina. Louis XIV, therefore, included within Louisiana the entire territory of what is now Texas. His surrender, for fifteen years, to one of his subjects of an immense province, was due to the exhausted condition of France, brought about by the war of the Spanish Succession. In 1700, Charles II, the last King of Spain of the house of Austria, had died, and had left heir to his Empire the grandson of Louis XIV, the Duke of Anjou, known as Philip V. The French monarch had accepted the magnificent inheritance, and after a terrible struggle with the greater part of Europe, had succeeded in establishing the sovereignty of Philip over Spain and the Spanish possessions in the New World. We have already referred to these events in regard to their influence on Mexican history, and they concern also the history of Texas. It was the weakness of the Spaniards in the latter half of the seventeenth century, during the reign of the incompetent Charles II, that had prevented their colonizing

the land upon which they considered La Salle to have encroached in 1685. In 1700 they had merely established the mission of San Juan Bautista, near the Rio Grande.

On the accession of the Duke of Anjou to the throne of Spain the French and the Spaniards became allies, and when Crozat received the grant of the commerce of Louisiana he thought of trading with Mexico. In May, 1713, Lamothe Cadillac arrived in the colony as Governor. He was the founder of Detroit and had been a successful pioneer, but in Louisiana he was not successful. According to Crozat's instructions he sent in 1713 a ship to Vera Cruz to begin trade with Mexico, but the Viceroy did not accept his overtures. In the same year he received a letter which had been addressed in 1711 to the governor of Louisiana by Fray Francisco Hidalgo, who was then a missionary among the Asinais. He had been one of the founders of the abandoned mission of San Francisco de Los Tejas and also of that of San Juan Bautista, and he had in vain applied to the Spaniards in Mexico to reoccupy the land of the Indians, in order to protect the country against the French, and to christianize the savages. Not having succeeded with Mexico he directed his efforts towards Louisiana.

Lamothe Cadillac took advantage of the overtures of Fray Hidalgo and chose Louis Juchereau de Saint Denis as leader of an expedition to establish trade with Mexico. Saint Denis had already made several explorations in the country of the Natchitoches and the Caddos, and it is believed that he had gone as far as the Rio Grande. He was, therefore, well prepared for the work entrusted to him by the Governor of Louisiana. He started from Mobile in 1713, was delayed at Biloxi, and, finally, by way of the Mississippi and the Red River, he entered the country of the Natchitoches and of the Asinais to the west. He traded with the latter for several months, and as the Indians were anxious to have Hidalgo and the missionaries again among them, he took the Governor of the Asinais and twenty-five men to guide him to the presidio or mission of San Juan

Bautista situated two leagues on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande. The commander of the presidio, Don Diego Ramón, received Saint Denis well, but would not let him proceed on his journey before he had received instructions from the viceroy. During his stay at the presidio the French explorer courted the granddaughter of Ramón and succeeded, a little later, in winning the heart and hand of the beautiful Spanish girl. The romance of Saint Denis's courtship and marriage has been related in a very interesting manner by Pénicaut, the literary carpenter, who got the story from Jalot, Saint Denis's valet. It gives a good idea of the chivalric character of the explorer, whose expedition to Mexico is of great importance in the history of Texas, and of some interest in that of Louisiana, as it gave rise to the foundation of the town of Natchitoches two or three years before Bienville founded New Orleans.

Saint Denis was taken to the city of Mexico, and after questioning him on the purpose of his expedition, the Spanish authorities in Mexico decided that the French should be kept out of the provinces beyond the Rio Grande and that missions should be reëstablished among the Tejas Indians. Accordingly a small expedition was sent out under Captain Domingo Ramón, and in the party were soldiers, friars, and a few families. Saint Denis accompanied them as a salaried official, possibly, says Professor Garrison, as chief of convoy and quartermaster. His conduct has been judged harshly by the latter historian, but we do not believe that he intended to be disloyal to the King of France. He was an adventurer of a high type but imbued naturally with the ideas of his age. He wished to serve France and his own interests at the same time, and by trading with the Spaniards he was not a traitor to his country. He returned to Mexico in 1716, was imprisoned and afterwards sent to Guatemala with his wife. He escaped and went back to Louisiana, where he rendered great services in the war against the Natchez. The Governor of Louisiana esteemed him highly and he has left an honored name in the history of that State.

Domingo Ramón and his party went to the country of the Tejas by the route which Saint Denis had taken, and which was known later as the Old San Antonio or Presidio Road. They reëstablished, at a short distance from the old site, Mission San Francisco, which was called "de los Neches," and not "de los Tejas" as formerly, and they founded five other missions: Nuestra Señora de la Guadalupe, La Purisima Concepción, San José, San Miguel de Linares, and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Professor Garrison calls attention to the three types of Spanish settlements in Texas: "the ecclesiastical, the military, and the civil, named respectively, the mission, the presidio, and the pueblo or poblacion." The purpose of establishing a mission was to christianize and civilize the Indians, who were induced to settle in pueblos or villages, and who were then called *Indios reducidos,* while those who roamed about were the *Indios bravos.* The buildings at the missions were of beautiful and picturesque architecture, and their ruins are very interesting. The friars who founded the missions in Texas belonged to the order of Franciscans. The presidio was a fort established for defense and the poblacion was a civil settlement which was governed, as in other Spanish colonies, with considerable confusion. There were but three permanent Spanish settlements in Texas before the advent of the Americans from the United States: San Antonio or Béjar, Goliad or La Bahía, and Nacogdoches. Of these the first was the most important.

In 1718 Martin de Alarcón, governor of Coahuila and later of Texas also, founded the presidio of San Antonio de Béjar on the San Antonio River and the mission of San Antonio de Valero, which was placed in charge of Padre Olivares, and which was a transfer of the one on the Rio Grande of which Olivares had been one of the founders in 1700. Near the mission of San Antonio de Valero two others were founded: San José de Aguayo in 1720, and San Xavier de Náxera in 1722. In 1731 three missions were transferred from the east to San Antonio: San

Francisco de los Neches, La Purisima Concepción de los Asinais, and San José de los Nazones. The names were changed as follows: San Francisco de la Espada, La Purisima Concepción de Acuña, and San Juan Capistrano.

A civil settlement called the villa de San Fernando was established in 1731 near the presidio of San Antonio and the missions. The settlers were families from the Canary Islands, about fifty persons, and there were also Indians and some Spanish people who were living near the presidio when the islanders came. It may be interesting to note that in Louisiana immigrants were introduced from the Canary Islands in 1779. They were called *Isleños,* and in one of the settlements formed by them in St. Bernard Parish, not far from New Orleans, the descendants of the *Isleños* are still known by that name and speak Spanish as a mother tongue.

The Alamo at San Antonio is of much importance in the history of Texas. "It is said to have been begun in 1744," writes Garrison. "It appears to have been the chapel of Mission San Antonio de Valero. The ruins as they now exist cover only a small part of the grounds of the original mission. That the name Alamo which was applied to the whole group of buildings, superseded the regular ecclesiastical designation was doubtless due to their occupation by a company of Mexican troops known as that of the Alamo of Parras."

The French in Louisiana and the Spanish in Texas stood almost facing each other at Natchitoches and at Adaes, only seven leagues distant from one another. In 1714, during the minority of Louis XV and the regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans, hostilities broke out between France and Spain on account of the ambitious projects of the Spanish minister Alberoni, who wished Philip V to have some influence in the kingdom of his nephew, the king of France, and to succeed him in case of his death. The soldiers and missionaries at Adaes and San Francisco fled from their establishments, either through fear of the French or because

Samuel Houston, president of Texas. *From the original in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.*

they were really attacked by the latter. The Marquis de San Miguel de Aguayo offered to make war against the French in Louisiana and prepared a considerable force for that purpose in 1721. Peace, however, was reëstablished between the Bourbons of France and of Spain, and Aguayo, who had been appointed governor of Nueva Estremadura and Nuevas Filipinas (Coahuila and Texas), had to limit his activities to establishing presidios or forts in order to strengthen the defense of the province. He built Fort Pilar near Adaes and one at Bahía, where had been La Salle's unfortunate settlement.

The French, under Bénard de La Harpe, made an unsuccessful expedition in 1721 to Espiritu Santo Bay to regain possession of the Gulf coast which had been occupied and lost by La Salle. In the vicinity of Natchitoches the French, on account of an inundation, advanced a little to the west, and this gave rise to an interesting correspondence between the Spanish authorities and Saint Denis. The commandant at Natchitoches expressed himself with great energy and refused to change the location of his fort. The matter was dropped by the Spaniards, and the trade, illegal though it was, continued on the frontier of Louisiana and Texas.

The founding of missions among the Tejas and Asinais was fairly successful, but all attempts to reduce the Apaches into pueblos failed, owing to the hostility of the fierce Comanches. Indeed, the settlements in Texas had been so unfortunate in their results that, in 1778, General Croix, commandant of the *Provincias Internas,* or North Mexican States, recommended that all establishments be concentrated at Béjar. This was not done, but the missions rapidly diminished in population in the latter part of the eighteenth century and were secularized in 1794. A few Indians lingered around them until they were dispersed in 1812 by the Spanish government. The *Provincias Internas* were divided into two districts by the Spanish and remained such until Mexico acquired its independence. Then in 1824,

one of the states of the Mexican Republic was composed of Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Texas. A little later Nuevo León became a separate state, and Coahuila and Texas remained united as one state until the Revolution of 1835. In 1827 the state had four departments: Saltillo, Monclova, and Texas, and afterwards Parras was taken from Saltillo.

The history of Spanish and Mexican Texas is not very interesting reading. From the time La Salle fell near the Trinity River to the establishment of the state of Coahuila and Texas there was little progress made in that immense territory. It required the invasion of Americans to develop the resources of Texas and to make it one of the foremost States in the American Union.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### *INTRUDERS AND ADVENTURERS*

THE Spanish government had endeavored to keep foreigners away from Texas and other Spanish territory by arresting and throwing into prison all persons unprovided with passports, but, nevertheless, intruders penetrated the country to the west of Louisiana by engaging in a contraband trade. One of these traders was Philip Nolan, an Irishman by birth, who had long carried on an illegal commerce between San Antonio and Natchez. In 1800 he started from the latter town with twenty adventurers with the avowed purpose of capturing wild horses. In 1797 he had gone to Texas and Mexico to buy horses for a Louisiana regiment and had obtained a passport from the Governor of Louisiana. It seems, however, that he was distrusted and watched. A patrol of fifty Spanish horsemen met him near Fort Washita but did not stop him, and he advanced with his men as far as the Brazos. There the party, reduced by desertion to eighteen, camped and penned about three hundred wild horses. Then they visited the Comanches, by invitation of their chief, and stayed a month with them. On their return to the camp a force of about one hundred men attacked them on March 21, 1801, and after a stubborn fight, in which Nolan was killed, the adventurers were captured. Lieutenant Musquiz, the commander of the Spanish force, gives the number of Nolan's band as twenty-four, fourteen Americans, one creole of Louisiana, seven Spaniards or Mexicans, and two negro slaves.

The prisoners were taken to Nacogdoches and then to San Antonio and San Luis Potosi, and finally to Chihuahua, where they were tried and ordered released. The commandant of the Internal Provinces, however, referred the matter to the king, and after five years the order came to hang one out of every five, to be chosen by lot. As there were only nine of the prisoners it was deemed sufficient to hang one man, and dice having been thrown by the captives, the lot fell on Ephraim Blackburn, who was hanged on November 11, 1807. The other prisoners were condemned to hard labor for ten years, but one of them, Ellis Bean, obtained his liberty and fought with Morelos for the independence of Mexico, and later with Jackson in the battle of New Orleans. Nolan's expedition and the fate of his companions is an interesting and curious incident in the history of Texas.

We now come to events in which persons of note took part, and in order to understand them we should remember that Louisiana to the west of the Mississippi, and the Island of Orleans were given to Charles III of Spain by Louis XV in 1762, and that this immense province was retroceded to France in 1800 and sold by Napoleon to the United States in 1803. The border line, which had given no trouble while Louisiana was Spanish, was again a subject of dispute when the Spaniards in Texas had Americans as neighbors. Spain claimed that the Arroyo Hondo was the boundary line and the United States had a vague claim on the whole country east of the Rio Grande.

The Spaniards prepared to resist encroachments from their powerful neighbors, and advanced to a short distance from Natchitoches, after a small Spanish force had been ejected by the Americans from the abandoned post of Adaes. Aaron Burr's reported scheme of an invasion of Mexico had rendered the Spanish authorities in Texas more active, and General Herrera had crossed the Sabine at the head of thirteen hundred men. Governor Claiborne called out the Louisiana militia and arrived at Natchitoches, where he was soon

joined by General James Wilkinson. This officer is represented by Governor Miro of Louisiana as having been a pensioner of Spain, at the time of the intrigues to separate Kentucky and the western country from the United States, and had had dubious relations with Burr shortly before his arrival at Natchitoches. He obtained, however, the removal of the Spanish forces beyond the Sabine river, and made an agreement with General Herrera and Governor Cordero that the territory lying beyond the Arroyo Hondo and the Sabine should be regarded as neutral territory till the settlement of the boundary question. This strange agreement was ratified by the governments of Spain and of the United States, and the neutral territory soon became the abode of marauders and bandits of all kinds. It disappeared only in 1819, when the boundary question was settled, and the Neutral Ground was included within the limits of Louisiana, which were extended to the Sabine river.

The struggle for independence was begun by Hidalgo in 1810, spread to Texas in 1811, and Casas, a captain of militia at San Antonio, seized Manuel Salcedo, the governor of Texas, and Herrera, the commander of the troops, and proclaimed himself governor. The authority of the royalists at San Antonio was, however, shortly afterwards restored by the cura Zambrano, and it required outside aid to enable the revolutionists to obtain temporary success in Texas.

Bernardo Gutierrez, who had been one of the most energetic officers of Hidalgo, had been commissioned envoy to the United States, but had accomplished nothing in Washington. He then conceived the design of invading Texas, and having gone to Natchitoches he gathered some adventurers from the Neutral Ground and obtained the coöperation of Augustus Magee, a young lieutenant in the army of the United States, who resigned his commission to serve as colonel in the expedition of Gutierrez. The latter crossed the Sabine at the head of one hundred and fifty-eight men, defeated a Spanish force in August, 1812, and took possession of Nacogdoches. Magee sent him reinforcements, and

he captured Trinidad. The invading army, numbering now eight hundred, advanced on La Bahía, of which they took possession, after evading an army commanded by Salcedo and Herrera. The Spanish besieged the place four months, but were forced to withdraw, and the invaders advanced towards San Antonio. Magee had died during the siege and was succeeded as colonel by Major Kemper. With him were four Americans, Captains Lockett, Perry, Ross and Gaines.

Salcedo awaited the enemy near San Antonio, and in the battle of Rosillo, on March 29, 1813, the Spanish were totally defeated. Their loss was very great, while that of the Americans was only nine killed and twenty-five wounded. The victors then captured San Antonio, which was surrendered by Salcedo and Herrera, on condition that their lives should be spared. Gutierrez, however, who had thus far been in nominal command, had the prisoners sent in the direction of Matagorda Bay, whence they should be shipped to New Orleans. The unfortunate Spaniards were under a guard of seventy Mexicans, who, at a short distance from San Antonio, put all their prisoners to death by cutting their throats with their camp knives. Among the men murdered were Salcedo and Herrera. The commander of the Mexicans threw the responsibility of this dreadful deed on Gutierrez, and the Americans, horrified at such cruelty, deposed their supposed chief, and Kemper, Lockett, and Ross abandoned the expedition in disgust, as did the better class of their followers from the United States.

In June, 1813, the invaders met Colonel Ignacio Elizondo, the betrayer of Hidalgo, and defeated his force of fifteen hundred men. Gutierrez, who had again been put in nominal command, was deposed once more, and Alvarez de Toledo was made commander-in-chief. On August 18, his army of more than three thousand men were routed by Elizondo and Arredondo with a force of about two thousand royalists. Toledo's army was composed of eight hundred and fifty Americans, about seventeen hundred Mexicans and

six hundred Indians. The Mexicans fled at the beginning of the battle, but the Indians and the Americans fought bravely. Of the latter, only ninety-three out of eight hundred and fifty engaged in the fight returned to Natchitoches. This defeat crushed the Republican movement in Texas. San Antonio was retaken by the royalists, who treated their adversaries with the greatest cruelty, shooting them whenever captured, and devastating the country. As a just retribution for his betrayal of Hidalgo and his ruthless deed in Texas Elizondo was killed by one of his own officers who had lost his reason.

Three years after the defeat of the American invaders and their allies the attacks on the Spaniards in Texas were changed to another part of the province. Galveston Harbor was chosen by José Manuel de Herrera, the minister to the United States appointed by Morelos, and he determined to aid the Mexican revolutionists by plundering Spanish commerce. He left New Orleans and went to Galveston, where he established a government of which he made Commodore Louis de Aury the chief. Many adventurers were attracted thither for the sake of piracy, and the establishment prospered for a time. In November, 1816, Mina arrived at Galveston, and Captain Perry, one of the few survivors of the Gutierrez-Magee expedition, determined to follow Mina in his invasion of Mexico. Aury reluctantly accompanied them to Soto la Marina, from which Mina started on the brief and heroic career which we have already related. Perry did not approve of the march into the interior with only three hundred men, and resolved to return by land to the United States. On the way his small force of less than fifty were attacked by one hundred cavalrymen, and fell fighting valiantly, Perry shooting himself through the head when he could no longer defend himself for want of ammunition.

Aury, on his return to Galveston, found the place occupied by Jean Lafitte, the Baratarian, and he abandoned his pirate's nest and sailed for the Floridas. The story of

Lafitte is well known. Established as a nest of smugglers at Grande Terre or Barataria, in Louisiana, his establishment was broken up in June, 1814, by Commodore Patterson, of the United States navy. Soon afterwards he refused to serve the British in their invasion of Louisiana, and he and his so-called pirates fought bravely under Jackson in the memorable campaign which ended so gloriously near New Orleans, on January 8, 1815. In April, 1817, he appeared at Galveston, which Aury had just left, to accompany Mina, and following his predecessor's example he established a government and swore allegiance to the republic of Mexico. From that time he certainly deserved the name of "Pirate of the Gulf," for he preyed upon the Spanish commerce and often upon that of other nations. He built the town of Campechy, on the site of the present city of Galveston, and was made Governor of Texas by some revolutionary leader in 1819. Unfortunately for him, however, one of his cruisers captured an American vessel in 1820, and Lieutenant Kearny with the *Enterprise* was sent to destroy Lafitte's establishment. The daring pirate submitted to superior force, broke up his settlement and sailed away from Galveston. He cruised for several years on the Gulf of Mexico and died in 1826, at Cilam, in Yucatan. He is said to have buried a treasure at Barataria, and his name is as well known to fortune hunters as that of Captain Kidd. His life was certainly most romantic.

While Lafitte was carrying on his operations at Galveston several former officers of Napoleon also endeavored to form a settlement in Texas. The brave General Lallemand, and a number of his companions who had taken part in the campaigns of the great Corsican, retired to the United States after the fall of their leader. Congress granted them ninety-two thousand acres of excellent land in Alabama to cultivate the vine and the olive, but they were not successful and sold their land for less than its value. Some of the officers, among them Charles Lallemand and Rigaud, sought a better climate for their colony and resolved to settle in Texas. They

advised the Spanish government of their intention, and not having received any reply they sailed for New Orleans in March, 1818, and established their colony on the Trinity river, almost twelve miles above its mouth. The settlement was called Champ d'Asile, but the unfortunate soldiers of Napoleon found no secure refuge on the soil of Texas. Their efforts as agriculturists were not successful, and in 1819 Lallemand and his one hundred and twenty settlers were forced to retire to Galveston, on the approach of a Spanish force which had been sent to dislodge them. Lallemand went to New Orleans, and General Rigaud succeeded him as commander of the refugees. At Galveston the exiles led a miserable existence, and some would have died from hunger had not Lafitte aided them with food. In September, 1818, a terrific storm destroyed nearly all the houses on the island of Galveston, which was nearly submerged. The camp of the Napoleonic exiles was ruined. Lafitte's squadron in the harbor, consisting of six vessels, was lost, the cisterns of the town were filled with salt water, and the refugees, suffering from hunger and thirst, determined to leave Galveston. A large part of them therefore departed for New Orleans on foot and succeeded in reaching that city, where they received a hospitable welcome. Rigaud and his daughter, and the remainder of the unfortunate company were, a little later, sent to New Orleans by Lafitte on board a Spanish schooner that one of his vessels had captured. The Creoles of New Orleans gave all the assistance in their power to Lallemand and his companions, and most of them finally returned to France.

General Charles Lallemand and his brother Henri had distinguished themselves at Waterloo, the former as commander of the chasseurs, the latter as commander of the artillery of the guard. They had both been condemned to death *in absentia* after Waterloo and had taken refuge in the United States as related above.

After the failure of the Champ d'Asile Charles Lallemand fought with the liberals in Spain, was taken prisoner

and lived in poverty for some time in Belgium. He afterwards taught school in the United States, and finally was restored to his country by the Revolution of 1830. He was well received by La Fayette, became a member of the Council of peers in 1832, and later was made military commander of Corsica. He died in Paris in 1839. Napoleon had left him by his will one hundred thousand francs and had said of him at St. Helena: "On my return from Elba he declared in my favor at a moment of the greatest peril to himself. He has a great deal of resolution and is capable as an organizer. There are few men who can better conduct a hazardous enterprise. *Il a le feu sacré.*"

Napoleon had made Rigaud also a beneficiary under his will to the extent of one hundred thousand francs, but the general died in New Orleans in 1820, while his great commander was still living at St. Helena.

The sad yet curious fate of the Napoleonic exiles in America has been related in an interesting manner by Jesse S. Reeves in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*. Texas treated the glorious soldiers of Napoleon as intruders on her soil.

In February, 1819, the United States acquired by treaty the Floridas, and abandoned its claims upon Texas, based upon the rights of the French acquired by La Salle's occupation of the territory in 1685. The treaty, however, was ratified only in 1821, and meanwhile there was considerable dissatisfaction over the matter in the United States. At Natchez a public meeting was held, and an expedition was organized to aid the revolutionists against Spain in Texas. James Long was chosen as the leader of the enterprise. He had served with distinction at the battle of New Orleans and had retired from the army, after his marriage to the niece of General Wilkinson. He left Natchez, in June, 1819, with seventy-five volunteers, and on arriving at Nacogdoches he had a force of over three hundred men. A council was established of which Long was president and Bernardo Gutierrez one of the members, and Texas was proclaimed an

independent Republic. The new state needed protection, and Long went to Galveston to endeavor to obtain Lafitte's assistance. Having failed in this he returned to Nacogdoches, which he found abandoned by his men. The different posts which he had established in Texas were all captured by the royalists, and Long retired to New Orleans. There he met the Mexicans, Milam and Trespalacios, and was provided with a commission by the latter, who claimed to be a lieutenant-general of the Mexican army. Long invaded Texas again with a small force of fifty-one men and took possession of La Bahía in October, 1821. He was soon forced to surrender to Mexican troops, and was taken to San Antonio and to the city of Mexico, where he was set free, as he pretended he had fought for Mexican independence. In 1822 he was killed by a sentinel at the barracks of Los Gallos. His expedition is as interesting an incident in the history of Texas as that of Philip Nolan.

## CHAPTER XIX

### *THE AMERICAN EMPRESARIOS*

After the treaty of 1819 with the United States, Spain was no longer averse to permitting colonists from that country to settle in Texas, and Moses Austin took advantage of the new policy to endeavor to establish a colony in the province from which the American had thus far been excluded. Austin was born at Durham, Connecticut. He engaged in mercantile business in Philadelphia, where he was married, removed afterward to Richmond, Virginia, then to Wythe County, in the same state, where in partnership with his brother Stephen, he established smelting works for the manufacture of shot and sheet lead. The mine purchased by the brothers not proving sufficiently productive, Moses Austin thought of settling in Upper Louisiana in 1796. The next year he obtained from Governor Carondelet a grant of one league of land with lead mines in what is now Washington County in Missouri. He established a settlement there in 1799 and was prosperous for many years. He was ruined, however, in 1818, by the failure of the bank of St. Louis, and thought of trying his fortune once more as a settler in Texas. He interested his son Stephen in the venture, and in the fall of 1820 he started on horseback for San Antonio.

Austin reached his destination in December, 1820, after a painful journey, only to be ordered out of the province by Governor Martinez of Texas, who would not listen to his plea that he had been a Spanish citizen in Upper Louisiana.

Austin left the governor's house to return to Missouri, but met on the plaza of San Antonio the Baron de Bastrop, then in the service of Spain, who interested himself in his behalf, and obtained from Martinez a favorable consideration of the plan to bring three hundred families into Texas. Bastrop was a former Prussian officer who had obtained a large tract of land in Lower Louisiana, of which he had ceded part to Aaron Burr when the latter was preparing his wild scheme in 1806 against Mexico.

Austin's petition was forwarded to Arredondo, commandant of the Eastern Internal Provinces, and the courageous adventurer started on his return journey. He suffered such hardships on the way that when he reached Natchitoches he was exhausted. After a short rest he resumed his journey and reached Missouri, where he died on June 10, 1821, aged fifty-seven. He lived long enough to hear that his petition to the Spanish authorities had been granted, and he confided the prosecution of his enterprise to his son.

Stephen Fuller Austin was born in Virginia, November 31, 1793. He was a member of the Territorial legislature of Missouri from 1813 to 1819, and then for nearly two years a circuit judge in the Arkansas Territory, whither he had gone to make arrangements in furtherance of his father's plan. When the latter died Stephen Austin was in New Orleans endeavoring to get immigrants for the proposed colony. He heard that Moses Austin's petition had been granted, and that Spanish commissioners had arrived at Natchitoches, and from there set out for Texas. On the way he heard of his father's death, and he resolved to continue the enterprise begun by Moses Austin. Accompanied by seventeen companions he went to Nacogdoches and then to San Antonio and was recognized by Governor Martinez as *empresario* or contractor. He was allowed to explore the country along the Colorado river and to choose a location for his settlement, and he furnished a plan for the distribution of land, which was approved by the governor. Each head of a family was to receive six hundred and forty acres,

besides three hundred and twenty for his wife, one hundred for each child and eighty for each slave.

The conditions imposed by the Spanish authorities were, "that the settlers should be Catholics, or agree to become so before entering the Spanish territory; that they should be provided with credentials of good character and habits; should take the necessary oath to be obedient in all things to the government, to take up arms in its defense against all enemies, to be faithful to the king, and to observe the political constitution of the Spanish monarchy." Moreover, Austin announced that each settler would have to pay twelve and one-half cents per acre for his land, the money to be used to defray the expenses of the enterprise, to furnish supplies for poor immigrants, and to remunerate Austin somewhat for his labors.

The colony was established in December, 1821, at the Bahía crossing on the Brazos river, amidst great difficulties, the settlers having to contend against the Indians and the dearth of supplies. In March, 1822, Austin went to San Antonio and was informed that the grant to his father would have to be confirmed by the Mexican Congress. The American *empresario* was not discouraged, but made the perilous journey of twelve hundred miles from San Antonio to Mexico. There he saw the accession of Iturbide and the fall of the emperor, and had great trouble to have his grant confirmed by the different governments which rapidly succeeded one another at that time. After a year passed in Mexico Austin returned to his settlement, which he found in very poor condition, but he succeeded, nevertheless, in 1824, in obtaining the three hundred families stipulated. The town of San Felipe de Austin was laid out in 1823 as the future capital of the colony. It is not the same place as the present city of Austin, which was established in 1839.

In conformity with a colonization law promulgated by the Mexican government, on January 4, 1823, Austin was able to give his settlers much more land than he had promised them; to each head of a family one square league, or *sitio*

(about four thousand four hundred acres) of grazing land, and one *labor* (about two hundred acres) of tillage land, in all about forty-six hundred acres. An unmarried man received one-quarter of a square league.

The whole administration of the new colony was invested in Austin for five years, until a regular municipal government or *ayuntamiento* was organized. The settlers refused to pay the twelve and one-half cents agreed upon to cover expenses, and the contractor had to display the greatest tact and energy to make the settlement prosper. The colonists had brought over from the United States the spirit of self-government which had already made that young country great, and the two Austins had sown on the soil of Texas a seed from which was to grow a great State of the American Union.

The general colonization law of January, 1823, was suspended in April of the same year, and a new law was passed in August, 1824, which authorized the different states of the Mexican republic to form colonization laws in regard to the occupancy of lands. In 1824, Texas, which had been thus far a province, was joined to Coahuila as a state, and a colonization law was passed on March 24, 1825, offering liberal terms to prospective settlers. "No settlement, however, could be formed within twenty leagues of the boundary line between Mexico and the United States, or within ten leagues of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico."

Many grants were made, after the promulgation of the law, and Texas was peopled more rapidly in ten years than it had been from the time La Salle had established his unfortunate colony at Matagorda Bay. Many of the *empresarios,* however, did not succeed in their enterprises, and the colony of Stephen Austin remained the most important. The Mexican government very soon began to distrust the spirit of the settlers from the United States, and restrictions were often imposed upon the immigrants. The most important law enacted by the Mexican Congress was one suggested by Alamán and passed in 1830. It forbade

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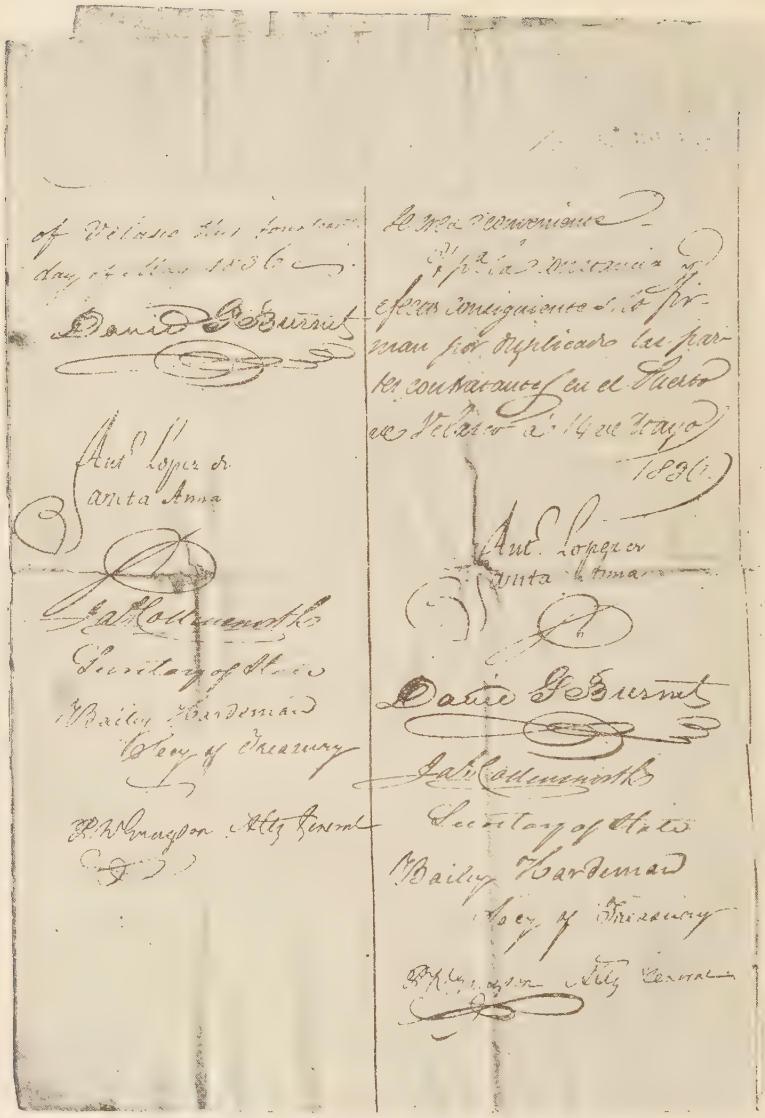
Articles of an agreement entered into betwee
de Santa Anna, General-in-chief of th



further colonization in the border states by neighboring nations, and the importation of slaves. The Mexicans were endeavoring to prevent the American spirit of independence from asserting itself in Texas.

In 1826 an event took place which showed that the Americans were always ready to resist oppression and to claim the right of self-government: the so-called "Fredonian War," undertaken by the Edwards brothers. Hayden Edwards had been in the city of Mexico at the same time as Austin, to solicit a grant of land, and had finally obtained one in 1825 from the state of Coahuila and Texas, under contract of settling eight hundred families at Nacogdoches and in the surrounding territory. The town had been almost destroyed at the time of Long's invasion and contained only about one hundred inhabitants. Some of the former Mexican settlers had returned, and some of the people of the old "Neutral Ground" had established themselves on the land ceded to Edwards for his colony. The *empresario* succeeded at great expense in bringing immigrants into Texas, but he unwisely exceeded his authority in passing on the claims of the former settlers and in dispossessing them of their lands. There soon arose a party opposed to Edwards and composed of discontented Americans and Mexicans. They were led by Samuel Norris, the mayor, or *alcalde,* of Nacogdoches, and his brother-in-law, James Gaines. The American settlers invited by Edwards were ill-treated, and his grant was finally withdrawn by the Mexican provisional governor of the state of Coahuila and Texas, who ordered his expulsion and that of his brother Benjamin. There were, at that time, in Texas, a number of Cherokee Indians, who had lately settled there from the United States, and who feared that their lands would be taken away from them by the Mexicans. Hayden and Benjamin Edwards made an alliance with them and agreed to share the territory of Texas with them. It was necessary, therefore, to establish an independent government, and this was done by Benjamin Edwards who, on December 16, 1826,

entered Nacogdoches at the head of fifteen men and proclaimed a republic under the name of Fredonia. The number of "Fredonians" was not large, for Austin disapproved of the plan, and no adherents came from the United States.

The Mexicans prepared to suppress the insurrection, and Norris, the enemy of Hayden Edwards, entered Nacogdoches with about eighty men. He was attacked by a small force of eleven "Fredonians" and eight Cherokees and was repulsed. During the fight Norris lost one man killed and ten or twelve wounded, and his opponents had one man wounded. Although victorious in the first and only battle of the "war," the "Fredonians" were compelled to submit to the Mexicans who, most strangely, set their prisoners free, at the solicitation of Austin. During the "war" the "Fredonians" had been abandoned by their Indian allies. This revolt against Mexico was easily subdued and appears of little importance, but it was an omen of the momentous events to take place in a few years on the soil of Texas.

For some time after the "Fredonian War" there was peace in Texas, and the settlements prospered, especially those of Austin, who obtained an additional grant of land in 1827. In 1828 he was allowed to settle the ten leagues of coast land between his original colony and the sea, and in 1831 he obtained another considerable grant in partnership with Samuel Williams. The population of Texas increased rapidly under the *empresario* system, and amounted in 1830 to about twenty thousand, while in 1827 it was about ten thousand, and in 1821, not half that number. The towns of Gonzalez and Victoria were founded, and La Bahía de Espíritu Santo became a villa and was called Goliad or Goliath.

The distrust of the Mexicans seemed to increase with the prosperity of the American settlements. From the decree of Guerrero, on September 15, 1829, abolishing slavery in the Mexican Republic, Texas was excepted on December 2, 1829, owing to strong representations made to President Guerrero by the settlers. The decree of April 6, 1830, instigated by

Lucas Alamán and evidently directed against further colonization by Americans, brought about a military despotism. Alamán's plan was to prevent immigration from the United States and to encourage settlers from other countries. He suggested also that Texas be made a penal colony by transporting there criminals and deserters.

General Mier y Teran was sent to carry into effect the provisions of the law, and he established, at about a dozen places, military posts of which the soldiery was of the lowest class. He suspended the concessions of all *empresarios,* except those of Austin, Dewitt and De León, and having gone to Matamoros he left David Bradburn in command at Anahuac, at the head of Galveston Bay, Colonel Piedras, at Nacogdoches, and Colonel Ugartechea, at Velasco, at the mouth of the river Brazos. Bradburn was a Kentuckian by birth who was serving with the rank of colonel in the Mexican army and he was a tyrant by disposition. The governor of the state sent a commission and a surveyor to issue titles to the settlers on the Trinity river, and they established the town of Trinity. Thereupon Mier y Teran ordered Bradburn to arrest two officials, Madero and Carbajal, and they were imprisoned. Bradburn then dissolved the *ayuntamiento* at Liberty and established one at Anahuac. He distributed land without authority and was very offensive in collecting the custom duties, from which Austin's colonists, by the terms of the contract, had been exempted for six years. Indeed, he ordered all ports to be closed, except that of Anahuac, and only after threats of an attack had been made did he allow that of Brazos to remain open.

In May, 1832, Bradburn put under martial law the country within the ten league coast reserve, and in the same month he arrested William B. Travis and several other prominent colonists, on the charge of insubordination, and treated them with great rigor. The settlers in Austin's colony and on the Trinity now rose and marched to Anahuac under the command of Francis W. Johnson. John Austin of Brazoria, a native of Connecticut and not related to

Stephen F. Austin, joined the insurgents at Anahuac with about one hundred men, and a demand was made for the release of Travis and the other prisoners. This, at first, was refused by Bradburn, but he finally consented to deliver the prisoners, if the insurgents would free some Mexican soldiers, whom John Austin had captured a few days previously, and would retire six miles from the town. The colonists freed their prisoners, and part of their force retired under the command of John Austin to Turtle Bayou. Bradburn, however, failed to keep his part of the compact, and the insurgents determined to capture Bradburn's fort. John Austin was sent to Brazoria to get two cannon brought previously from New Orleans by the schooner *Sabine*.

The cannon were put on the schooner *Brazoria*, and John Austin, with one hundred and twelve men, resolved to capture the fort at Velasco, at the mouth of the Brazos river, which was in command of Ugartechea. The latter, with a force of about one hundred and twenty-five Mexicans, defended the fort valiantly, but could not resist the accurate marksmanship of the colonists, and was forced to surrender. His adversaries granted him generous terms of capitulation and even supplied him with provisions for his men for his march to Matamoros.

In the meantime, Colonel Piedras had been instructed by General Mier y Teran to proceed from Nacogdoches to Anahuac and endeavor to put an end to the disturbances. He started for this purpose with a few men, but on the way he fell into the hands of the Texans, to whom he promised that Travis and the other prisoners would be released and Bradburn removed. The prisoners were liberated, and the Mexican soldiers wishing to go south to take part in the movement in favor of Santa Anna, Bradburn escaped to Louisiana. He entered Texas with Santa Anna in 1836, but obtained no more glory at that time than he had acquired at Anahuac in 1832. Unfortunately, John Austin, who had played an important part in the campaign against the Mexicans, died in 1833.

While the movement of the Texans against Bradburn was taking place, Santa Anna had pronounced against Bustamante, whose administration had been hostile to the Texans. The latter, therefore, resolved to support Santa Anna, and, on June 13, 1832, the adversaries of Bradburn passed resolutions at Turtle Bayou, proclaiming their grievances and pledging their support to Santa Anna. This proceeding seems very strange when we think of the utter defeat, only four years later, of Santa Anna by the Texans, but it produced fortunate results in 1832. Colonel José Antonio Mejía was sent from Tampico with a large force to subdue the insurrection in Texas, which was thought to be for the purpose of annexation to the United States. Mejía was accompanied by Stephen F. Austin, who was returning from attending a meeting of the state legislature. At Brazoria the Mexican colonel was presented with the resolutions adopted at Turtle Bayou, and as he was a partisan of Santa Anna he allowed himself to be convinced of the good intentions of the insurgents against Bradburn, and returned to Mexico. The soldiers at the different posts in Texas were fired with zeal for the cause of the great patriot Santa Anna, and they all marched south, except those who were stationed at the post at Nacogdoches under Colonel Piedras. The latter was opposed to Santa Anna, and the colonists resolved to dislodge him. On August 3d, about three hundred men, under the command of James W. Bullock, attacked Piedras and forced him to evacuate Nacogdoches. He was afterwards delivered to the Texans by his own men, who had pronounced in favor of Santa Anna, and was sent out of the country. Among the men who took part in the engagement against Piedras was Colonel James Bowie, destined to be popular in the history of Texas.

After the departure of the garrison at Nacogdoches, Texas was almost entirely free from Mexican soldiers. There remained only a few men at San Antonio for protection against the Indians. The Texans and the Mexicans were again apparently at peace.

## CHAPTER XX

### *THE DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE*

When the state of Coahuila and Texas was formed "there was a proviso in the decree," says Bancroft, "to the effect that when Texas possessed the necessary elements to form a separate state, notice should be given to the general congress for its resolution on the matter." The interests of the two provinces were very different, on account of the geographical position and natural products, and the people of Texas were anxious for a separation from Coahuila. A call for a convention was issued, on August 22, 1832, by Horatio Chriesman and John Austin, and delegates from nearly all the departments met at San Felipe de Austin, on October first. The measures discussed by the convention were very important, and petitions to the national and state governments were adopted, among which was one asking for a separate state government for Texas, and another praying for the repeal of the eleventh article of the decree of April 6, 1830, which excluded settlers from the United States. Stephen F. Austin had been elected president of the convention and Frank W. Johnson, secretary. William H. Wharton and Rafael Manchola were appointed delegates to carry the petitions adopted to the national and state governments, but there was such disapproval in Mexico of the proceedings of the convention that the delegates did not perform their mission.

On April 1, 1833, the people of Texas met again in convention, and framed a state constitution, modelled on that of the United States. Three commissioners were appointed to

present the constitution to the Mexican government: Stephen F. Austin, James B. Miller and Erasmus Seguin. Austin alone went to Mexico, where he arrived in July, 1833, and he labored with zeal to accomplish the purpose of his mission. Santa Anna's government did not appear hostile to the Texans, and promises were made to abrogate the eleventh article of the decree of April 6, 1830. It was decided, however, that it was not yet opportune to separate Texas from Coahuila. Austin, thereupon, left the city of Mexico, on December 10, 1833, to return to his home, but on arriving at Saltillo, he was arrested on January 3, 1834, by order of Acting President Farias and taken back to the capital. There he was thrown into a dungeon, treated for some time with great rigor, and released only after a year and a half. His offence had been that, while in the city of Mexico, he had written to the *ayuntamiento* of San Antonio de Béjar, exhorting them to join in the movement for the organization of a separate government in Texas.

While Austin was kept a prisoner in Mexico several acts were passed by the state legislature which were beneficial to Texas. It was divided into three departments, Béjar, the Brazos, with San Felipe as capital, and Nacogdoches. The use of the English language was permitted in public affairs, foreigners were allowed to purchase vacant lands, settlers were protected from molestation for political and religious opinions, provided public tranquillity was not disturbed, and a judicial system with trial by jury was organized.

Affairs in Texas quieted somewhat in 1834, but in that year there were serious disturbances in Coahuila, where Saltillo and Monclova contested for the seat of government. Santa Anna decided in favor of Monclova, but in 1835 there was trouble again in Coahuila, and the Mexican dictator arbitrarily removed Governor Agustín Viesca and appointed another governor.

Anarchy in Coahuila was not conducive to strengthening the bonds of union with Texas, and moreover the Texans were incensed in 1835 by acts of the state legislature, which

sold large tracts of vacant land for insignificant sums. A war party arose, which was encouraged by Lorenzo de Zavala and other Mexican refugees, and when the national government endeavored to collect duties in Texas, a small force under William B. Travis marched in June, 1835, to Anahuac and expelled Captain Antonio Tenorio, who had been sent with a few men to protect the collector. A little later a Mexican schooner, the *Correo,* was despatched to Anahuac, but was captured as a pirate ship and sent with her captain to New Orleans. The despotism of Santa Anna in Coahuila and in other parts of the so-called Mexican Republic had aroused the spirit of independence of the Texans.

Stephen F. Austin returned in September, 1835, from his captivity in Mexico, and at Brazoria a large meeting was held to greet him, and he was entertained at a public dinner. He delivered an important address on the situation in Texas and in Mexico, and said in conclusion: "The crisis is such as to bring it home to the judgment of every man that something must be done, and that without delay. The question will perhaps be asked, what are we to do? I have already indicated my opinion. Let all personalities, or divisions, or excitements, or passions, or violence, be banished from among us. Let there be a general consultation of the people of Texas as speedily as possible, to be convened of the best, and most calm, and intelligent, and firm men in the country, and let them decide what representation ought to be made to the general government, and what ought to be done in the future." A little later, as chairman of a committee of safety, Austin issued a circular which concluded with the following energetic words: "War is our only resource. There is no other remedy. We must defend our rights, ourselves and our country by the force of arms."

The Texans made active preparation for the struggle with the despotic Mexican government; committees of safety and volunteer companies were organized, and the first engagement of the campaign took place near the town of Gonzalez, on the Guadalupe river. At that place was a cannon which

had been sent there for defense against the Indians. General Ugartechea, the commander of the Mexicans at Béjar, made a demand for it, which was refused by the alcalde at Gonzalez. The people of the town then asked for aid of the committee of safety at Mina and at San Felipe, and volunteers came to their assistance. Meanwhile Ugartechea had sent a detachment of about one hundred men under Lieutenant Castareda to take the cannon at Gonzalez. The Mexicans had been unable to cross the river and had moved six miles away. On October 2, 1835, the Texas volunteers, under Colonel J. H. Moore, attacked the Mexicans, who fled as soon as their adversaries fired the gun brought from Gonzalez.

The first engagement with the Mexicans was a victory for the Texans, and they followed it up with energy. On October 9, a small band, under Captain George Collingworth, surprised Goliad or La Bahía and captured it with two pieces of artillery, three hundred stand of arms and ten thousand dollars. The chief purpose of the Texans, however, was to take possession of Béjar, which General Cos had lately entered with five hundred men, and Austin, with a force of about three hundred and fifty strong, advanced on October 13, from Gonzalez against Béjar. He stopped a few miles from the town to wait for reinforcements, and on the twenty-seventh he dispatched Colonel James Bowie and Captain James W. Fannin with ninety-two men on a reconnoissance. They were surrounded near the Mission Concepción by almost four hundred Mexicans, whom they routed, and Austin's army, numbering now about one thousand men, besieged the town of San Antonio de Béjar. The siege proved to be protracted and tedious, and Austin, having been appointed a commissioner to the United States, resigned his command and was succeeded by Colonel Edward Burleson. The volunteers grew tired of the vain siege of Béjar, and many of them left the army, which was reduced to eight hundred men at the end of November, although it had received reinforcements of two companies of New Orleans Grays,

under Captains Robert C. Morris and Breece, and of one company from Mississippi. On the fourth of December Colonel Burleson had given orders to raise the siege, but a deserter from the Mexicans stated that there was confusion in the town and that its strength was exaggerated. This information renewed the enthusiasm of the besiegers, and Colonel Benjamin R. Milam, acting by the authority of Burleson, called on the volunteers to storm the place. The attack was begun early on the fifth and continued until the ninth, when General Cos, who had retired to the fortified mission of the Alamo, sent a flag of truce. The fighting had been from house to house, and the Texans had displayed the greatest courage. Their leader in the attack, Colonel Milam, was killed. He was a native of Kentucky, had served in the war of 1812 between the United States and England, and had taken part in Mina's expedition in Mexico.

The treaty of capitulation of San Antonio was signed on December 11, 1835. General Cos agreed to retire beyond the Rio Grande with the convict soldiers, and the others were allowed to remain in Texas if they wished. About two hundred men stayed, and Cos departed with eleven hundred and five. The loss of the Texans was two killed and twenty-six wounded. During the siege of San Antonio the town of Lipantitlan, on the Nueces river, was captured by the Texans, but was soon abandoned by them. The prisoners taken there were released on condition of not again bearing arms against Texas.

The military operations of the Texans in 1835 were very successful, and after the departure of Cos there was not a Mexican soldier left on the soil of Texas. Let us now see whether the settlers succeeded as well in civil matters as in military affairs. The general consultation of the people, suggested by Stephen F. Austin, on his return from Mexico in September, 1835, effected a permanent organization on November 3. Fifty-five members met at San Felipe; among them was Sam Houston, who had been a member of the convention of 1833, had left Texas for some time and had just

returned. There were also in attendance Lorenzo de Zavala, the Mexican exile, and many other men who played an important part in the history of the revolution in Texas. Branch T. Archer was elected president, and P. B. Dexter, secretary. A committee, of which John A. Wharton was chairman, was appointed to prepare a declaration, or bill of rights, of the Texans, and the report made by the committee brought about a lengthy discussion. The question was whether Texas should declare its independence, or adhere to the Mexican constitution of 1824. By a vote of thirty-six against fifteen the report was modified to suit the latter view. The declaration asserted that the Texans had risen "in defense of the republican principles of the Federal constitution of Mexico, of eighteen and twenty-four;" that they were "no longer morally or civilly bound by the compact of union;" that during the disorganization of the federal system they claimed the right to govern themselves independently, but that they would remain faithful to the Mexican government as long as the nation was governed by the constitution of 1824.

A plan was adopted to organize a provisional government. It was to consist of a governor and lieutenant-governor, to be elected by the "consultation," and of a general council to be composed of one member from each municipality or organized district. The consultation passed also an army ordinance which provided for a regular army of eleven hundred and twenty men and a militia composed of all able-bodied men. The commander-in-chief of the regulars was to be appointed by the consultation, with the rank of major-general, and the army was to be governed in regard to rules, regulations, and discipline by those of the army of the United States. Henry Smith was elected governor; he had been one of the principal leaders of the war party and of the independence party. He received thirty-one votes, and Stephen F. Austin twenty-two. James W. Robinson was elected lieutenant-governor, Sam Houston, commander-in-chief, and Stephen F. Austin, Branch

T. Archer, and William H. Wharton were appointed commissioners to the United States.

The general consultation adjourned on November 14, 1835, to meet March 1, 1836, but events moved so rapidly before that time that it never reassembled. Its work in organizing a provisional government had not been wise, and Professor Garrison says that "it would have been difficult to frame an instrument less adapted to the emergency." Governor Smith and the council disagreed on almost all questions, the latter overriding the vetoes of the former as fast as he issued them. Conflicts in authority soon arose in military matters, and it was difficult to know who was the legal commander of the expedition which had been planned against Matamoros after the capture of San Antonio. The governor and General Houston appointed Colonel Bowie, while Colonel Frank W. Johnson and Colonel Fannin claimed the position by authority of the council. Finally Governor Smith ordered the commander-in-chief to go to the frontier, but the latter, at that time, received a report from Béjar which he communicated to the governor on January 6, 1836, and which was most important. Colonel Neill, left in command of the Alamo, reported that the greater part of the volunteers had departed from San Antonio on the proposed expedition against Matamoros and had taken with them all the winter supplies intended for the garrison.

On receiving the communication in regard to the Alamo the governor was so incensed that he sent to the council a message couched in the most extraordinary language. He applied to some members, whom he did not name, the terms "Judas," "scoundrels," "parricides," "wolves," and even said that these men might be detected by a "sympathetic tickling and contraction of the muscles of the neck, anticipating the rope." He concluded his diatribe by declaring the council adjourned until March 1st, unless he convened it at an earlier date. The council replied to the governor that his message was disgraceful, and unworthy

of his office, and an outrageous libel on the body to which it was addressed. It ordered the governor to cease the functions of his office and recognized Lieutenant-Governor Robinson as acting governor during the suspension of Governor Smith. The governor made an attempt at a reconciliation with the council, but the latter was not willing to yield, and the discord continued until the meeting of a convention of the people, both sides continuing till then to abuse and threaten each other.

The disgraceful quarrel between Governor Smith and the council had a disastrous effect on military affairs. The greater portion of the garrison at Béjar had been withdrawn from that town for an expedition against Matamoros, but the expedition never took place. On hearing of this General Houston sent Colonel Bowie to the Alamo, on January 17, 1836, with instructions to Colonel Neill, in command there, to bring off the cannon and demolish the fortifications. Neill was not able to bring away the artillery, for want of teams, and left the place on account of ill health, shortly after the arrival there of Colonel Travis, who had been sent with a small force by Governor Smith.

The situation of the Texans at Béjar was very critical, as Santa Anna succeeded in reaching the town with an army several thousand strong, after a painful march from Saltillo to Monclova, and then to the Rio Grande and to Béjar. On February 23, the Mexicans took possession of the town, and the Texans retired to the Alamo. They refused Santa Anna's summons for an unconditional surrender, and the latter hoisted a red flag on the church as a sign of no quarter.

"The Alamo," writes H. H. Bancroft, "though built for a mission, was a strong enough place for defence except against siege artillery. Its surrounding walls were of masonry from two and a half feet to one *vara* thick, and eight feet high. The main area, or square of the mission, was one hundred and fifty-four yards long by fifty-four

wide, though it was not a perfect parallelogram, being somewhat narrower at the southern than at the northern extremity. On the southeast of it was the old church with walls of hewn stone four feet thick, and twenty-two and a half feet high. It had never been completed, and was roofless, but was made serviceable as a magazine and for soldiers' quarters. From the northeastern corner of the chapel attached to it, a wall extended northward one hundred and eighty-six feet, thence westward at right angles to the court enclosing the yard of the convent. It was divided into apartments, and was used as an armory and barracks. The prison was of one story, one hundred and fifteen by seventeen feet, and from its southeastern corner a diagonal ditch, surmounted by a strong cockade, with an entrance in the centre, extended to the southwest corner of the church. The whole area of the different enclosures was between two and three acres, and a plentiful supply of water was obtained from two aqueducts."

With Travis were James Bowie, a native of Georgia; David Crockett, a native of Tennessee; J. B. Bonham, a native of South Carolina; and other valiant men. There were one hundred and eighty-three in all, after thirty-two brave men from Gonzalez had succeeded in entering the fort on March 1. The small garrison resisted the attack of nearly five thousand men, from the twenty-third of February to the first of March. On the latter date the Alamo was taken by storm, and all its defenders but five died in a hand-to-hand fight with the enemy. The five captives were mercilessly shot by order of Santa Anna, and only six persons escaped from the "massacre:" three women and three children.

The letter written by Colonel Travis at the beginning of the siege is admirable and deserves to be reproduced in every History of Texas, as a memorial of a brave soldier and a splendid patriot.

"Commandancy of the Alamo,
"Béjar, February 24, 1836.

"To the People of Texas and all Americans in the World:

"Fellow-Citizens and Compatriots:—I am besieged by a thousand or more Mexicans under Santa Anna. I have sustained a continual bombardment and cannonade for twenty-four hours and have not lost a man. The enemy has demanded a surrender at discretion, otherwise, the garrison are to be put to the sword, if the fort is taken. I have answered the demand with a cannon shot, and our flag still waves proudly from the walls. *I shall never surrender or retreat. Then,* I call on you in the name of Liberty, of Patriotism and everything dear to the American character, to come to our aid with all dispatch. The enemy is receiving reënforcements daily and will no doubt increase to three or four thousand in four or five days. If this call is neglected, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible and die like a soldier who never forgets what is due to his own honor and that of his country. Victory or death.

"William Barrett Travis,
*"Lt. Col. Comdt.*

"P. S. The Lord is on our side. When the enemy appeared we had not three bushels of corn. We have since found in deserted houses eighty or ninety bushels and got into the walls twenty or thirty head of beeves.

"Travis."

Sam Houston was soon to avenge gloriously the heroes of the Alamo and to win the independence of Texas at the battle of San Jacinto.

Two views of the Alamo Plaza, San Antonio, about fifty years ago.

## CHAPTER XXI

### *THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS*

THE fate of the defenders of the Alamo was not more tragic than that of the men who had endeavored to undertake the expedition against Matamoros, at the time of the unfortunate controversy between Governor Smith and the council of Texas. We have related the conflict in authority between the military commanders: General Houston on one side, supported by the governor, and Colonels Johnson and Fannin on the other, supported by the council. Houston had gone in January to Refugio, where he had met Johnson and Doctor Grant, who was one of the most enthusiastic leaders in the expedition against Matamoros. The major-general had spoken to Johnson's men, who were nearly all volunteers from the United States, and had persuaded most of them to join his forces. Let us now see what was the fate of the men who remained with Johnson and Grant and of those who were with Fannin.

Johnson and Grant were ordered by Fannin to collect horses. They had reached San Patricio with less than one hundred men, after Houston's departure from Refugio, and they divided their command to obey Fannin's instructions. On March 2, Grant's detachment was surprised by a force of several hundred dragoons under General Urrea, and nearly all the men were killed by the Mexicans, Grant being among the slain. Johnson's detachment had not been more fortunate and had been almost entirely destroyed at San Patricio by Urrea, a little before he had slaughtered Grant and his men. Colonel Johnson escaped almost miraculously.

On March 13, Urrea advanced on Goliad, where was Fannin. The latter had sent Captain King with twenty-eight men to Refugio, and the Mexicans attacked him there. He asked for reinforcements, which came under Colonel Ward, and he retired a little later to a wood, leaving Ward at the mission of Refugio. On March 14 and 15, King's men were all killed by the enemy, except two, and Ward, after a valiant defense, escaped from Refugio and started to join Fannin. On the way he was surrounded by a large force and had to surrender. Meanwhile Fannin had been ordered by Houston to abandon Goliad and retreat to Victoria. He waited, unfortunately, several days for the return of King and Ward from Refugio, and began his retreat only on March 19. He was soon attacked by the Mexicans and completely surrounded. He fought bravely until night, but in the morning of the twentieth he surrendered to Urrea, and he and his men were sent to Goliad, where they were soon joined by Ward's detachment, which had also been captured, as related above. On March 27, by direct order of Santa Anna, the prisoners to the number of three hundred and seventy-one were marched out of Goliad, and at a distance of half a mile from the fort, they were massacred by the guard of soldiers which accompanied them. Ward and Fannin were among the slain. This horrible deed was due to the enforcement of a law which declared pirates all foreigners entering the Mexican republic with arms in their hands. There is, however, no palliation for such a barbarous deed, and the massacres at the Alamo and at Goliad roused the Texans to make superhuman efforts to obtain their independence from Mexico.

On December 20, 1835, at Goliad, ninety-one citizens headed by Captain Dimit, had signed a declaration of independence ending with these words: "relying on our entire confidence upon the coöperation of our fellow citizens." All of the people of Texas were not yet ready for a separation from Mexico, although Austin wrote from New

Orleans, on January 7, 1836: "Were I in the convention I would urge an immediate declaration of independence," and ten days later he wrote again: "The whole nation of all parties is against us; they have left us but one remedy—independence." Houston also in January was in favor of an unequivocal declaration of independence.

The convention to which Austin had referred in his letter of January 7, met at Washington on the Brazos, on March 1, 1836. It organized by the election of Richard Ellis as president and H. T. Kimble as secretary, and the next day it proclaimed by a unanimous vote the independence of Texas. Fifty-eight delegates signed the declaration; of the signers three only were Mexicans. The grievances of the Texans have been summarized as follows by Bancroft: "They were based upon the changes made in the government by Santa Anna, and the establishment of a combined despotism of the sword and priesthood, in the place of the constitution under which the immigrants had settled in Texas. Particular instances of tyranny and of failure to provide for the welfare of Texas are enumerated: the rejection of the petition for a separate state government; the imprisonment of Austin; the failure to establish trial by jury and a public system of education; arbitrary acts of oppression on the part of military commanders; the dissolution by force of arms of the state congress of Coahuila and Texas, thereby depriving the people of the right of representation; piratical attacks on Texan commerce; the denial of religious tolerance; invasion of the country for the purpose of driving the colonists from their homes; and inciting savages to massacre inhabitants on the frontiers."

A provisional government was organized by the convention, and David G. Burnet was elected president by that body; Lorenzo de Zavala, vice-president; Samuel P. Carson, secretary of state; Thomas J. Rusk, secretary of war; Robert Potter, secretary of the navy; Bailey Hardiman, secretary of the treasury; and David Thomas, attorney-

general. A constitution was adopted on March 17, and the convention adjourned on the same day.

The constitution of the new independent state of Texas was modelled on that of the United States. As was to be expected, it established slavery by stringent clauses, but it declared to be piracy the importation of negroes into the republic, except from the United States. Heads of families were to receive each a league and a *labor*, about forty-six hundred acres of land; and every single man, aged seventeen or more, one-third of a league. Congress was to introduce by statute the common law, modified as circumstances might require, and the common law was to be the rule of decision in criminal cases. Congress was to provide by law a general system of education. Religious toleration, freedom of speech and of the press, and personal rights, were guaranteed, but ministers of the gospel and priests were made ineligible to the presidency or to congress.

The convention of the people of Texas issued its declaration of independence on March 2, 1836. It was now necessary to conquer that independence on the battlefield. Samuel Houston, who was a member of the convention, was reappointed commander-in-chief of all the Texas troops. He set out for Gonzalez, on the Guadalupe river, and arrived there on March 11. He was, however, forced to retreat to the Colorado, and at Burnham's place he helped many families, which were fleeing from the enemy, to cross the river. The seat of government had been moved from Washington to Harrisburg, and great panic reigned among the settlers for the safety of their families. All persons who could do so fled in the direction of the Sabine river, and as Houston continued to retreat, his men began to leave him, in their anxiety to ascertain the fate of their families.

After leaving Burnham's Crossing the Texans went to Beason's Ford, and were followed by a detachment of Santa Anna's army under General Sesma. The Mexicans numbered about seven hundred men and took up a position on the other side of the Colorado, at a short distance from the

Texans. Houston had a force of about fourteen hundred men, and it seems as if he should have attacked Sesma, but he heard, at that time, of the massacre of Fannin's troops, and he feared to be surrounded by a concentration of the different divisions of the Mexican army. On March 26, Houston fell back towards the Brazos, and on the march nearly half of his men left him. At San Felipe two companies, one under Mosely Baker, and the other under Wyly Martin, refused to retreat any further. Baker was ordered to guard the crossing at San Felipe, and Martin, at Fort Bend. Houston then encamped at Groce's, near the Brazos, and stayed there until April 13. Shortly before that date the town of San Felipe had been burnt by Captain Baker, who had been erroneously informed of the approach of the enemy. The latter did arrive, however, on April 14, at the ruins of San Felipe, and under the command of Santa Anna marched to Harrisburg in the hope of capturing Governor Burnet and the other members of the government of Texas. Fortunately the officials of the new republic succeeded in escaping to New Washington, then to Anahuac, and finally to Galveston. Santa Anna set fire to Harrisburg, and on April 18 reached New Washington. He was then at a short distance from Houston, who had just arrived at Buffalo Bayou, at its junction with the San Jacinto river, opposite the ruins of Harrisburg.

While the Texans were at Groce's the secretary of war, Thomas J. Rusk, came to their camp. He had been sent by the government to urge Houston to abandon his Fabian policy. The general needed no advice and was waiting for a favorable opportunity to attack the Mexicans. After crossing the Brazos, on April 14, he had been joined by Baker and Martin, but had sent the latter, who had proved refractory, to the Trinity river. On the nineteenth, the Texans crossed Buffalo Bayou, and on the next day engaged in a skirmish with the Mexicans who had marched back from New Washington and were encamped along San Jacinto bay. On April 21, 1836, was fought the celebrated

battle of San Jacinto. With a force of seven hundred and eighty-three men, Houston surprised the army of Santa Anna, numbering about sixteen hundred men, and routed it utterly in twenty minutes. The war-cry of the Texans was: "Remember the Alamo!"

The loss of the Mexicans was six hundred and thirty killed, two hundred and eight wounded, and seven hundred and thirty prisoners. Among the latter were Santa Anna, General Cos, and four colonels. The Texans lost two killed and twenty-three wounded. Houston, the victor of San Jacinto, was severely wounded. After the battle, Santa Anna, fearful of the vengeance of the Texans, ordered General Urrea, who was at Brazoria, to fall back on Victoria, and the other divisions of his army to retreat to Béjar. On May 14, at Velasco, he signed two treaties, one public and the other secret. By the first "he agreed not to take up arms or use his influence to cause them to be taken up against the people of Texas during the present war of independence; all hostilities on land and water were to cease, the Mexican troops were to evacuate the territory of Texas, and Santa Anna was to be sent to Vera Cruz as soon as it should be deemed proper."

By the secret treaty the defeated general agreed to do all in his power to have the independence of Texas recognized, the boundaries of the new republic not to extend beyond the Rio Grande. General Filisola ratified the public treaty, and soon all the Mexican troops left the soil of Texas. There was no peace, however, between Mexico and Texas, as Santa Anna's treaties were not considered binding by the Mexican government. Santa Anna himself was liberated by the government of Texas, after having been kept in close confinement for some time. He was sent to Washington and soon returned to Mexico to continue the extraordinary and inglorious career which we have thus far related.

In September, 1836, an election was held for president, vice-president and senators and representatives in congress. The people were also asked to decide whether congress had

power to revise and amend the constitution, and whether annexation to the United States was desired. The two questions were answered by almost unanimous votes; the first in the negative and the second in the affirmative. The candidates for the presidency were Houston, Henry Smith and Austin, who received respectively 4,734, 743 and 587 votes. Mirabeau B. Lamar was elected vice-president. The term of office of the first president was limited to two years by the constitution, and his successors were not eligible for a succeeding term. The term of the succeeding presidents was to be three years.

President Houston, in order to harmonize the factions, appointed Austin secretary of state, and Smith secretary of the treasury. The other secretaries were Thomas J. Rusk, war; S. Rhodes Fisher, navy; Robert Burr, postmaster general, and J. Pinckney Henderson, attorney general. The duties of the secretary of the navy were not very onerous, for, of the four vessels bought by the republic in 1836, not one was left at the end of the next year. The *Invincible* and the *Brutus* were wrecked, the *Independence* was captured, and the *Liberty* was sold. The squadron, however, had threatened the coast of Mexico and had captured a few schooners. In 1839 a new navy was created and lasted until Texas was annexed to the United States, when it became part of the American navy.

The labors of the secretary of war were more important than those of his colleague of the navy, although hostilities between Mexico and Texas almost ceased after the battle of San Jacinto. An attempt had been made, in July, 1836, to supersede General Houston in the command of the army, and Mirabeau B. Lamar had been appointed to that position. Houston wrote a strong letter on the subject to General Rusk and gave good advice about prosecuting the campaign against the Mexicans. Lamar went to the headquarters of the army and signed a proclamation as commander-in-chief, "a thing," said Houston, "that could not be unless I was out of service." The soldiers refused to acknowledge

Lamar's authority, and he was forced to retire. A little later General Felix Huston was appointed to the command of the army, which was greatly reduced in number by President Houston. Huston's successor was the celebrated Albert Sidney Johnston, who fell gloriously at Shiloh during the Civil War.

On December 10, 1836, a seal and a flag were adopted for the young republic. The seal was a single star with the words, "Republic of Texas," and the flag was a golden star on an azure ground. "On January 25, 1839," says Bancroft, "an act was passed adopting as the national arms a white star of five points on an azure ground, encircled by an olive and live oak branches. The national flag was to consist of a blue perpendicular stripe of the width of one-third of the whole flag with a white star in the centre, and two horizontal stripes, the upper white and the lower red."

On November 15, 1836, former Vice-President Lorenzo de Zavala died, aged fifty-five, and on December 27th, the father of Texas, Stephen Fuller Austin, died at Columbia. He was only forty-three years of age, but his life had been useful and eventful. We have seen with what energy he carried out his father's scheme of colonization in Texas, and how he became the real founder of that commonwealth. It is a pity that he did not live long enough to see the independence of Texas recognized by the United States on March 1, 1837.

Elections were held in September, 1838, and Mirabeau B. Lamar was elected president and David G. Burnet, vice-president. Houston's term of office expired in December, 1838. That remarkable man was born, like Austin, in Virginia, in Rockbridge County, on March 2, 1793. At the death of his father, in 1807, the family settled in Tennessee, near the country of the Cherokees, and after going to school for a short time and working in a store, young Houston went to live among the Cherokees until he was eighteen years of age. He next taught school, was clerk in a store at Kingston, Tennessee, and in 1813 entered the army of the United

States. He took part in the war against the Creeks, was wounded and was made lieutenant. He was afterwards sub-agent to the Cherokee nation, then he studied law at Nashville, was elected attorney general of Tennessee, served two terms in Congress, and became governor of Tennessee in 1827. He resigned that office in 1829 on account, it is said, of his separation from his wife shortly after their marriage, and he returned to live among the Cherokees who were then in that region which became the Indian Territory. In 1832 Samuel Houston went to Texas, whose independence he assured by the victory of San Jacinto, and which he served as president of the Republic, United States senator and governor. He died at Huntsville, Texas, on July 25, 1863.

## CHAPTER XXII

### *THE LAST YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC*

In his inaugural address, delivered on December 9, 1838, President Lamar expressed himself against annexation to the United States. In his message to congress he spoke earnestly in favor of a system of public education, and recommended that lands be appropriated to establish such a system and also a university. His advice was heeded, and in 1839 three leagues of land were granted to each county to maintain an academy, and fifty leagues to establish and endow two universities. In this regard Professor Garrison says: "Considering all the conditions under which the educational policy of President Lamar was conceived and embodied in legislative enactments, there is no finer appeal to the noblest aspiration of a people in history." Both the public schools of Texas and the University of Austin have reached a high degree of efficiency.

President Houston had treated the Indians with leniency, but President Lamar was of the opinion that they should be dealt with severely. A body of Indian fighters, called the Texan rangers, was organized and rendered great services. In August, 1838, some Mexican settlers at Nacogdoches had attempted to rise against the Texan government, and had been joined by about three hundred Indians. The force of the insurgents numbered six hundred men, but they dispersed on the approach of Texan troops. Their leader, Vicente Cordova, seems to have held a commission from General Filisola, and in the same manner Manuel Flores,

in 1839, was entrusted by General Canalizo, Filisola's successor, with the task of inciting the Indians to attack the Texans. Flores was killed in a marauding expedition, and papers referring to the Cherokees were found. It was resolved to remove the tribe to their former lands in Arkansas, but negotiations to that effect failed, and their territory was invaded by a force of about five hundred men under General Douglass. The Indians defended themselves in a ravine, but were defeated and driven from their lands near Nacogdoches. They lost about one hundred men in killed and wounded, and among the killed was the celebrated chief Bowles.

The Texans had next to deal with the warlike Comanches. In March, 1840, twelve of their chiefs met some commissioners at Béjar to treat for peace and were asked to deliver thirteen white captives. They delivered only a little girl, and soldiers having been introduced into the council chamber, the chiefs were told that they would be held prisoners until they produced the other captives. A fight ensued inside and outside the council chamber, and the twelve chiefs were killed, with twenty of their men, and several women and children were made prisoners. The Comanches determined to take vengeance on the Texans, and in August they made two unsuccessful attacks on Victoria. They succeeded in burning Linnville, from which the inhabitants had escaped, and started for their homes, after killing twenty-one persons and taking away many horses and much booty. On the way they were met and completely routed by a force commanded by General Felix Huston. War was carried into their territory, and in October they were attacked in their village by Colonel John H. Moore and were nearly exterminated.

The greatest difficulty against which the Republic of Texas had to contend was to raise funds for the maintenance of the government, and in spite of earnest efforts, the public debt rose from nearly two million dollars, at the end of Houston's administration, to about seven and a half millions at the end of Lamar's term of office in 1841. President Houston succeeded later in bettering the financial situation.

In 1839 a movement was begun by the Federalists in Mexico to form the Republic of the Rio Grande, in which Texas would be included. The government did not accept the proposition, but about one hundred and eighty Texans joined a force of Mexicans under General Canales and crossed the Rio Grande. They took possession of the town of Guerrero, and without the help of the Mexican allies defeated General Pavon at the battle of Alcantro. Canales advanced then to Matamoros, which he besieged for a few days without success, then to Monterey, where, after some skirmishes with the Centralists, he recrossed the Rio Grande, and organized a republic with Cardenas as president and himself as commander-in-chief. The Texans nearly all left him, and he was defeated by General Arista. In June, 1840, however, he was joined again by Texan volunteers, among whom was Colonel S. W. Jordan, who had distinguished himself at Alcantro. The Texans were betrayed by their allies, and at Saltillo were attacked by a large force of Centralists whom they put to flight after severe fighting. Colonel Jordan finally succeeded in bringing back his brave men to Texas, and Canales surrendered in November what remained of his army. Thus disappeared the so-called Republic of the Rio Grande.

On December 19, 1836, congress had defined the boundaries of Texas as extending from the mouth of the Sabine to that of the Rio Grande, thence up the principal stream of the Rio Grande to its source, thence north to the forty-second degree of north latitude, thence along the boundary line as defined in the treaty between the United States and Spain in 1819. An expedition to Santa Fé was planned in 1841 in order to acquire the territory claimed in 1836, or at least to bring about trade between Texas and New Mexico. President Lamar was very much in favor of the expedition, which was not approved by congress, and he addressed a proclamation to the authorities at Santa Fé explaining its purpose. He stated that they should decide whether they wished to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Texas or not, and

in any event he wished to establish friendly commercial relations with the people of New Mexico. Force was not to be used to establish the authority of Texas, and the commander of the expedition received instructions to that effect. As the regular army had been disbanded men were easily secured; the military being only to protect from the savages.

Three commissioners were appointed by the president, and the expedition numbered two hundred and seventy soldiers, mounted infantry, and one company of artillery with one cannon. There were also teamsters, traders, and other persons to the number of about fifty. General Hugh McLeod was in command, and the small Texan force started from a point near Austin on its ill-fated expedition, on June 20, 1841. The distance to Santa Fé was very great, and there were deserts to cross; therefore, on August 11, the Texans were so exhausted that it was decided to send ahead ninety-nine men who were in a better condition to travel, and the others followed in a second detachment. The governor of Santa Fé, General Manuel Armijo, marched against the Texans, whom he considered invaders, and the first detachment, through treachery, were induced to lay down their arms. Armijo had them tied with lariats, by groups of four, six or eight, and on the surrender of the second detachment the men received the same treatment as those of the first. All the prisoners were sent to Mexico and thrown into dungeons. Those who were Americans or Europeans were claimed by the ministers of their respective countries and were released in the spring of 1842. The other prisoners were liberated in June by Santa Anna, with the exception of J. A. Navarro, one of the Texan commissioners, who was disliked by the Mexican president, and who remained in prison until 1845, when he succeeded in escaping. The Santa Fé expedition of 1841 is one of the most unfortunate in the history of Texas. It has been related by Kendall, who believes that the people of New Mexico would have accepted the overtures for commercial relations made by Lamar, had it not been for Armijo, who wished to continue his despotic rule.

In 1839 France recognized the independence of Texas; Holland and Belgium in 1840; and Great Britain in 1842. The latter power had made a commercial treaty in 1839, with the understanding that it would consider Texas as part of Mexico until that country had recognized the independence of the new Republic. An unfortunate and ridiculous affair between the French representative in Texas and a hotelkeeper led to the withdrawal of the former, and diplomatic intercourse between the two nations was resumed only in 1842.

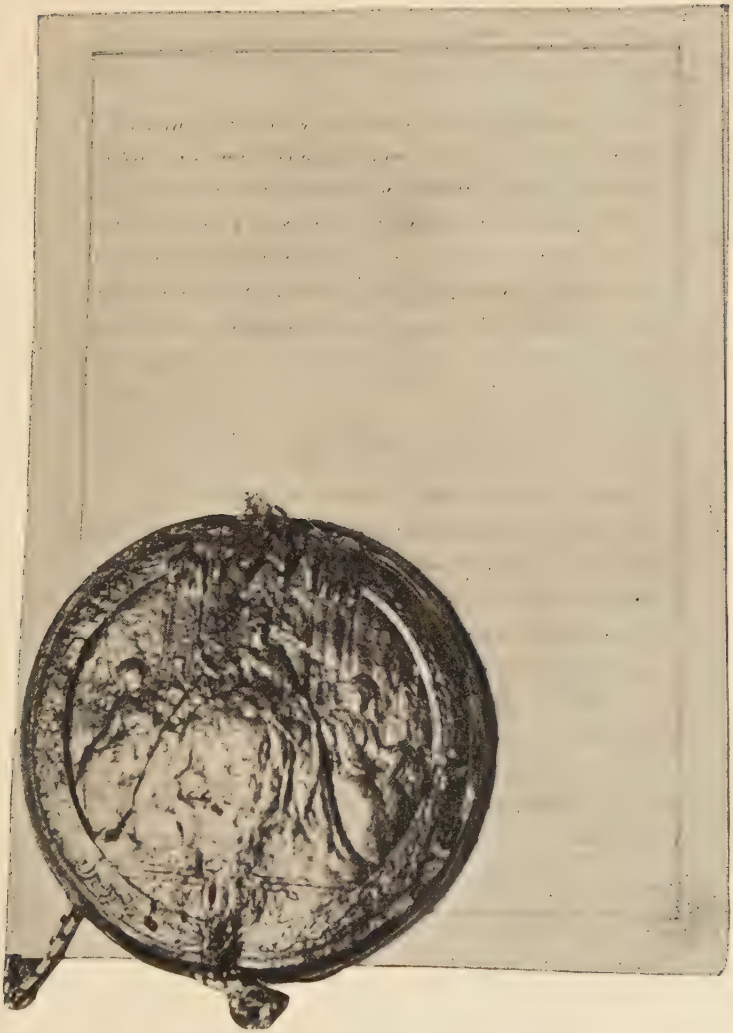
During the greater part of the last year of his term President Lamar obtained permission to absent himself, and Vice-President Burnet was acting president. In September, 1841, General Houston was elected president for the second time, and Edward Burleson, vice-president. Houston returned to a milder policy in dealing with the Indians, and in his message to congress he called attention to the deplorable financial condition of the republic. Economies were effected in the administration of public affairs, but the finances of Texas remained in a sad condition during the whole period of its existence as an independent republic.

Hostilities with Mexico were resumed in 1842. On March 5, General Rafael Vasquez took possession, with a force of five hundred men, of San Antonio de Béjar. The Texans had not been able to oppose any resistance to the Mexicans, who departed two days later. Raids were also made on Refugio and on Goliad, which were occupied for a short time, and the Texans wished to retaliate by invading Mexico. President Houston, however, did not believe that sufficient preparations could be made for such an undertaking, and he vetoed the bill authorizing an offensive war. In July General Canales attacked a small force of Texans on the Nueces and was repulsed, but on September 11 General Woll captured San Antonio, which was bravely defended by fifty-two men. A little later Colonel Mathew Caldwell, with about two hundred and twenty men, fought successfully a large force under Woll. Unfortunately, a company of fifty-three

men, under Captain Nicholas Dawson, who had come to the help of Caldwell, was surrounded by the Mexicans and almost annihilated. Woll left San Antonio on September 20 and returned to Mexico, with sixty-seven prisoners.

A call was issued by President Houston for volunteers, who were to meet at San Antonio to prepare to cross the Rio Grande, and the president appointed General Somervell, who was then at Matagorda, to lead the expedition. The troops, however, wanted General Burleson as their commander, and when Somervell arrived at Columbia he disbanded some two or three hundred men who had assembled there and went back to Matagorda. In October, however, he was ordered to proceed to San Antonio, and he found about twelve hundred men in different camps. The general had little enthusiasm, and the men were poorly equipped, therefore the Texan force which invaded Mexico numbered only five hundred and fifty men. They crossed the river and advanced as far as Guerrero, but their general ordered a retreat almost immediately. He wished his small army to proceed to Gonzalez and disband. Several of his captains declared their intention to continue the expedition, and Somervell returned to San Antonio with about two hundred men, leaving three hundred men, who elected Colonel William S. Fisher to command them.

The Texans crossed the Rio Grande and marched to the town of Mier, where they fought a large force under General Ampudia. Their loss was small, while that of the Mexicans was about six hundred in killed and wounded. Nevertheless they were induced to surrender, and Ampudia started with the unfortunate prisoners on the way to Mexico City. He took them to Matamoros, and from there started them on their toilsome journey under cavalry guard. The Texans numbered two hundred and thirty-five, as some of the wounded had been left at Mier, and forty-two men had remained on the east bank of the Rio Grande to serve as camp guard. At the hacienda del Salado, about one hundred miles beyond Saltillo, the prisoners succeeded on January 11, 1843,



Treaty between the Republic of Texas and Great Britain. *From the original in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.*

in escaping from their guards. They lost several of their number, but one hundred and ninety-three men remained of the ill-fated expedition, and they started on their return to Texas. Unfortunately their commander, Captain Cameron, led them into the mountains instead of continuing on the road to Monclova, and worn out by hunger and thirst they finally surrendered to their pursuers. One hundred and seventy-six captives heavily fettered were taken back to the hacienda del Salado, where one-tenth of their number were condemned to be put to death. "No time was lost," says Bancroft. "The same evening one hundred and fifty-nine white beans and seventeen black ones were placed in an earthen crock, and the prisoners made to draw one consecutively, a black bean signifying death. Cameron was made to draw first, but escaped the fate it was hoped would fall upon him. Three-fourths of the beans were drawn before the urn yielded up the last fatal lot; then the irons were struck off the victims, and at sunset they were led forth to die. Seated upon a log near the eastern wall, they were blindfolded and then fired upon until they ceased to breathe."

This massacre provokes our indignation, which is increased by the brutal execution a month later of Captain Cameron. The prisoners were sent to Perote, where already were Colonel Fisher and General Thomas Green. The latter succeeded in escaping with a few men, and the remainder of the captives were released in September, 1844, by Santa Anna. The Mier expedition was even more unfortunate than that of Sante Fé.

James W. Robinson, who had been lieutenant-governor of Texas in 1835, had been captured at San Antonio and was a prisoner at Perote in 1843. He persuaded the Mexican authorities that the Texans could be induced to unite again with Mexico, and he was appointed a commissioner for that purpose. His plan failed, as he probably expected, but he succeeded in obtaining his freedom.

The Texans undertook in 1843 another expedition which ended in failure. It was that of Colonel Jacob Snively, who

endeavored with one hundred and eighty men to intercept some Mexican traders, on their return from Missouri to Sante Fé. In May, 1843, Snively camped on the right bank of the Arkansas river, twenty-five miles below the crossing of the Sante Fé trail. Unfortunately for him, the Mexican traders were accompanied by about two hundred United States dragoons, commanded by Captain Philip S. Cook, who claimed that the Texans were on United States territory and broke up Snively's party. He took all their guns, except ten, which he left for them to protect themselves against the Indians. The government of the United States afterward paid for the guns taken by Cook.

An armistice was agreed upon in 1844, through the mediation of England, by commissioners from Texas and from Mexico, but President Houston would not ratify it, as Texas was mentioned as being a part of Mexico. Santa Anna, therefore, announced that Mexico had renewed hostilities. Nothing was done, however, on either side, and the war came practically to an end. Texas had conquered securely its independence from Mexico and was soon to form part of the American Union.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### *CREATION OF THE LONE STAR STATE—THE CIVIL WAR*

After Texas won its independence of Mexico, it was a foregone conclusion that, with so large an American population, the republic would be finally annexed to the United States; but the fierce agitation over the extension of slavery and the desire to avoid war with Mexico delayed action on the part of the American government for a number of years. The great majority of the Texans desired to join their fortunes with those of the Americans, and this desire grew as time passed. In their advocacy of annexation they were greatly aided by the purpose of the Southern Democrats to extend the range of slavery, by the threats of Mexico against the United States, and finally by the intervention of Great Britain in the affairs of the Texan republic. The attitude of the Southern Democrats was that Texas had been unwisely sacrificed in the treaty of 1819 with Spain, and that it should be re-annexed to the United States in order to maintain the balance between the slave-holding and the free States, which balance was necessary for the preservation of the Union. Many of the Whig abolitionists of the North, on the other hand, maintained that the annexation of the vast slave-holding territory of Texas should be regarded as equivalent to the dissolution of the Union.

In the meantime, Mexico was carrying on a guerrilla war with Texas, and in 1842 the latter country appealed to the United States, Great Britain, and France, inviting them to intervene jointly to put a stop to Mexican aggressions. Great

Britain, not wishing to aid in the extension of the power of the United States, but wishing to see Texas entirely independent of Mexico, now interposed on her own responsibility to bring about a permanent peace between Mexico and Texas. Mexico accepted these good offices, and negotiations with Texas were entered upon. No sooner, however, had Great Britain taken this attitude than it was noised abroad in the United States that the real intention of Great Britain was to destroy the institution of slavery in Texas and to undermine it in the Southern States. There seems to have been no truth in this report; but the possibility of the interference of a foreign nation in American affairs aroused the indignation not only of the slave-holding classes, but even of the Northern Whigs. In August, 1843, Mexico added to the indignation by declaring that any act passed by Congress to incorporate Texas with the United States would be considered as equivalent to a declaration of war.

Thus, outside influences conspired to aid the friends of annexation, and in April, 1844, President Tyler, having signed a treaty of incorporation with the plenipotentiary of Texas, laid the document before the Senate for its ratification. It was rejected by a vote of thirty-five to sixteen. Many of the Southern Democrats voted against it; some of them because they were opposed to war with Mexico, some because they held that a foreign state like Texas should be annexed, not by treaty, but by an act of Congress.

In the autumn of the same year the issue was clearly brought before the people, and James K. Polk, a declared friend of annexation, was elected by a substantial majority over Henry Clay, who had expressed himself ambiguously on the subject. The voice of the people having been heard, there was to be no long delay in carrying out their wishes. As it seemed to be impossible to obtain a two-thirds majority of the Senate, necessary for the ratification of a treaty, Congress fell back upon the suggestion of a joint resolution of the two houses, which would require only a bare majority. Accordingly, a resolution enabling the people of Texas to

form a constitution and a government preparatory to entrance into the Union passed the lower house and, after being amended in the Senate, received the approval of that body by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-five. March 1, 1845, it was duly signed by President Tyler.

In December, 1844, President Houston, in his farewell address to his legislature, had declared that Texas would not give up one jot of liberty or right of self-government, nor would the United States demand it. Yet, in the following October, when the ordinance of annexation and a new constitution for the State were submitted to the people of Texas, the vote for adoption was almost unanimous. On December 29, 1845, President Polk approved an Act of Congress, admitting Texas as a State of the American Union. "The lone star of Texas sank below the horizon," says the historian Bancroft, "to rise again amidst a constellation of unapproachable splendor."

It was, of course, inevitable that Texas should pass under the flag of the United States, and the people of that state felt that, however desirable might be the right of self-government advocated by Houston, they would, as an independent nation, form only one of the lesser powers of the world and would be subject to constant interference on the part of other nations. While the abolitionists of the United States trembled to see so vast a domain devoted to slavery introduced into the Union, even they appreciated the danger of allowing an independent republic to be formed within the natural borders of the United States. If they had been able to look far enough into the future, they would have seen that it was best for the cause they advocated that Texas should be annexed; for otherwise slavery might have continued to flourish in that state after it was abolished in the United States.

The first governor of the new State, J. Pinckney Henderson, was installed in office on the sixteenth of February, 1846, and Texas entered upon a career of great prosperity. The soil was suited for various forms of agriculture; the public

lands, which in the agreement with the United States had been reserved, soon proved a source of enormous wealth to the State and a powerful aid in the development of the educational system; and finally, a vigorous and energetic population, constantly increased by immigration, began to build up cities and to develop the vast resources of the country. In 1847 this population consisted of about one hundred thousand Anglo-Texans, some four thousand Mexicans, thirty-five thousand slaves, and a considerable number of foreigners. As in other pioneer States of the Union, the elements of the population were of the most heterogeneous character. They have been described as the descendants of the pilgrim fathers, of old Virginia cavaliers, of the Dutch settlers in New York, of the ancient Huguenots in South Carolina, mingled with hunters from Tennessee and Kentucky, and frontier farmers from everywhere. The criminal element was not lacking and many malefactors from other States found an asylum in Texas. It is maintained, however, by unbiased writers that such persons were not more numerous than in other new communities of our country, and that being under constant surveillance, they seldom dared to repeat their former offences in the State of their adoption.

Of the war with Mexico that followed so closely on the admission of Texas into the Union the causes and the details have already been given in the history of Mexico. It is necessary only to state that in this conflict the volunteers from Texas bore their full part and performed deeds of conspicuous gallantry under their adopted flag. The claim of Texas to all the territory north and east of the Rio Grande was one of the chief causes of the war, and when, at the close of the conflict, the government of the United States occupied the portion of New Mexico east of that river, Texas maintained that great injustice had been done. The territory in dispute, to which Texas had only a shadowy claim, was ninety-eight thousand three hundred and eighty square miles in extent. It was finally relinquished to the United States, that government agreeing to pay to the new

State ten million dollars as compensation for the ceded territory and a settlement of all claims against the national government for State debts, forts, custom houses, etc. The northern boundary of the State was made to correspond with the southern boundary of Missouri, the famous compromise line of 1820. Down to the year 1896 Texas claimed as a boundary on the northeast the north fork of the Red river, but in that year a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States confined it to the south fork and gave Greer County to Oklahoma.

Between 1850 and 1860 there were few events of striking interest in the history of Texas. The population increased from two hundred thousand to six hundred thousand, and as the settlers pressed towards the western frontier, they frequently came into collision with the Comanches and other bands of Indians. The raids of the savages became so serious that the United States government gathered some fifteen hundred of them on reservations. Under this system there was a marked improvement, but as some of the more worthless engaged in horse stealing, the whites became antagonistic and cruelly slaughtered a band of Indians who had camped off the reservation. Retaliation followed, and the Federal government was persuaded to remove the tribes across the Red river. In 1858 there was a serious insurrection of slaves in Colorado County. Some of the ringleaders were hanged; others were whipped to death; while some Mexicans, who were believed to be implicated, were driven away. The hatred of Mexicans was further shown in what was known as the "Cart War." The charges of the Mexican drivers for transporting goods were so much cheaper than those of the Americans that the latter took up arms against their competitors and killed or ran them out of the country.

It is more agreeable to record the fact that during this decade the State put aside two million of the bonds received from the Federal government, the interest of which was to be devoted to the education of the free white children between the ages of six and sixteen. The schools thus established,

however, were not to be entirely free; a part of the expense was to be borne by the parents in proportion to the number of their children and the time of actual attendance.

It might be supposed that as Texas had recently entered the Union and was somewhat outside of the sphere of interests that engrossed the national political parties, the State would not develop any strong feeling towards the questions which between 1850 and 1860 agitated the older States. Indeed, for some years after its admission, its political contests were between men rather than between measures. Still, the fact that its leading citizens came originally from those older States and felt a deep interest in the attitude of those States toward national questions soon began to produce its natural effect. In 1855 the tenets of the famous "Know Nothing" party spread so rapidly in the State that a representative of that political faith was sent to Congress and a candidate for the governor's office avowing the same principles received a very large though not decisive vote. This, however, was only a passing phase. A political party that stood for secrecy and for the exclusion from office of foreigners and Roman Catholics was so un-American that it was destined to be swept away as soon as its principles were thoroughly understood.

Far more lasting and more significant was the agitation over the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The slavery question proved to be a veritable firebrand in Texas as elsewhere. In 1854 the "little giant" of Illinois created a great sensation by introducing into the Senate of the United States a bill permitting the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska to decide for themselves whether they should adopt the domestic institution of slavery. By the Missouri compromise of 1820 they would have come into the Union as free States. The passage of this bill by both houses of Congress in 1854 practically repealed the Missouri Compromise and threw the slave owners as well as the abolitionists into a fever of excitement. It was now to be a race between the slavery and the anti-slavery men to determine which party

should control Kansas and to decide on what conditions it should enter the Union.

In 1858 the bitter strife between these parties was reported by Governor Runnels to the legislature of Texas. He stated that "the free soilers" in Kansas were trying to block the proceedings of the Lecompton constitutional convention by framing a free State constitution, and he added that the North was defeating the effect of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 by hostile legislation. He therefore urged that resolutions be passed looking to the coöperation of Texas with other Southern States to resist aggressions upon the institutions of the South. The legislature complied with his request. In the following year, however, when General Sam Houston ran as an independent for the office of governor, he was elected over Runnels by a vote of thirty-six thousand to twenty-seven thousand. As Houston was known to be a Union Democrat, there was evidently a reaction at this time in favor of his position. In fact, some of the Democratic leaders had gone too far in favoring filibustering expedition for the extension of slave territory and in advocating the revival of the slave trade. Governor Runnels, in his farewell address, reiterated his former views, declaring for "equality and security in the Union, or independence outside of it;" while Governor Houston, in his message to the legislature, January 16, 1860, said: "Texas will maintain the constitution and stand by the Union. It is all that can save us as a nation. Destroy it and anarchy awaits us." At this time the great majority of Texans doubtless held the views of their old general; but hardly a year had passed before the tide of public sentiment was flowing with irresistible force away from him towards the gulf of disunion.

This swift change of sentiment had been brought about to some extent by the John Brown raid in 1859, but more especially by the rapid rise of the Republican party and its triumphal election of Abraham Lincoln by a sectional vote in the fall of 1860. The platform of this party had announced that there would be no interference with slavery

in the States where it existed; but it demanded the admission of Kansas as a free State; it repudiated the Dred Scott decision, and declared that the normal condition of all Territories was one of freedom. Moreover, Lincoln himself in 1858 had declared: "I believe this government cannot endure, half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other." All this, with the increasing strength of the Republicans in Congress, sounded ominous. It was believed in the South that slavery was no longer secure. The three candidates of the Democrats had been Stephen A. Douglas, whose platform did not satisfy the South; J. C. Breckenridge, a strong States' Rights man, and John Bell, the nominee of the Constitutional Union party.

The only two tickets supported in Texas were those of Bell and Breckenridge. Lincoln, it is a significant fact, had no adherents and Douglas was hardly more popular. Between the followers of Bell and those of Breckenridge there was an active canvass; the former receiving 15,563 votes and the latter 47,548. As soon as it was clear that the Republican candidate would have a majority in the Electoral College, there was great excitement in the South, and the State of South Carolina, always in advance when nullification or secession was in question, left the Union December 20, 1860.

During the presidential campaign Governor Houston, in a public address, had denounced the advocates of secession; but in the returns of the election he could not fail to see what was the feeling of his State towards the Union, and his mind was filled with the gloomiest forebodings. It was clear that the slavery question was to bring on secession, and secession would bring on civil war. As soon as the election of Lincoln was evident, the Democratic leaders declared that the success of the Republican party meant a revolution in the character of the Federal government—a prediction which in after years they

maintained had been fulfilled; and they urged the governor to call an extra session of the legislature to consider what action Texas should take. Houston, still prepared to struggle against the inevitable, delayed so long that the leaders of public opinion took the extra-legal or revolutionary step of calling a convention to meet January 28, and to decide the fate of the State. The governor, his hand being forced, now consented to call the legislature together on January 21, doubtless with the hope of counteracting the work of the convention. His hope was vain. The legislature, instead of favoring the coöperation of all the Southern States, as Houston advised, approved the calling of the convention and authorized it to act for the people of Texas, provided its ordinance was submitted to a vote of the people.

In his message to the legislature the governor declared that he felt as deeply as any member of that body the necessity of such action on the part of the slave-holding States as would secure to the fullest extent every right they possessed. "A high resolve to maintain constitutional rights and failing to obtain them, to risk the perils of revolution even as our fathers risked them, should actuate every citizen of Texas." He added, however, that though he deplored the election of Lincoln, he saw in it no cause for the immediate and separate secession of Texas. He believed that the Southern States, though four had already left the Union, should meet and take counsel together as to the best course to pursue.

But the tide of events in Texas was too swift to brook such delay, and the convention, approved by the legislature, met under the presidency of Judge O. M. Roberts, and on February 1, passed an ordinance of secession by a vote of one hundred and sixty-six to seven. When the vote was announced amid wild excitement, a band of ladies entered the hall, waving a beautiful Lone Star flag. In spite of the opposition of the governor, Texas, with only seven dissenting voices, had launched forth upon the desperate course of secession.

The convention next proceeded to appoint a committee of public safety and to elect delegates to the Confederate Convention at Montgomery. The committee of safety, acting through the commissioners, immediately entered into negotiations with General Twiggs, a Southern sympathizer, by which he, as commander of the United States forces in Texas, surrendered to mere show of force, and delivered up all the Federal forts, arsenals, and stores in the State. At the same time the convention issued a proclamation to the people of the State, justifying its action and saying among other things: "In all the non-slave-holding States, in violation of that good faith and comity which should exist even between entirely distant nations, the people have formed themselves into a great sectional party, now strong enough in numbers to control these Southern States and their beneficent and patriarchal system of African slavery, proclaiming the debasing doctrine of the equality of men—irrespective of race and color—a doctrine at war with nature, in opposition to the experience of mankind and in violation of the plainest revelations of the divine law. They demand the abolition of negro slavery throughout the Confederacy, the recognition of political equality between the white and negro races, and avow their determination to press on their crusade against us so long as a negro slave remains in these States. For years past this abolition organization has rendered the Federal Congress the arena for spreading firebrands and hatred between the slave-holding and non-slave-holding States. By consolidating their strength they have placed the slave-holding States in a hopeless minority in the Federal Congress, and rendered representation of no avail in protecting Southern rights against their exactions and encroachments. They have proclaimed and at the ballot-box sustained, the revolutionary doctrine that there is a 'higher law' than the Constitution and laws of our Federal Union, and virtually that they will disregard and trample upon our rights. They have for years past encouraged and sustained lawless organizations to steal our slaves and prevent their

recapture, and have repeatedly murdered Southern citizens while lawfully seeking their rendition."

This extract is given as the usual statement of the alleged grievances of Texas and the rest of the South during this excited period.

When the ordinance of secession was submitted to the people of Texas, it was ratified by a vote of 39,415 to 13,841. It seems likely that many of those who voted against it did so not because they repudiated the right of secession, but because they held with the governor that the act was precipitate and that there should be coöperation among the States. It was not so much their love of the Union as their love of Texas that dictated their action. There was, however, a large number of Union men in the State.

Governor Houston soon made himself unpopular with the convention, which he criticised as exceeding its powers in sending delegates to Montgomery, in adopting the Confederate Constitution, and other like acts. When, therefore, he declared that he would bring the vote of the people before the legislature and that another convention should be called to adjust the constitution as might be found necessary, the convention, which was impatient of delay and confident of the support of the people, asserted its powers by summoning all officers of the State to take the oath of allegiance to the new government. Houston sent word that he did not regard the action of the convention as binding, and while the other State officers promptly took the oath, both he and his secretary of state refused to appear. The convention responded by passing an ordinance, appointing Edward Clark, the lieutenant-governor, to act as governor until the next election. Houston, in his turn, issued an eloquent address to the public, denying the right of the convention to impose an oath on him, but declaring that as he had gone into the Union with the people of Texas so he would go out from the Union with them: "Though I can see but gloom before me, I shall follow the 'Lone Star' with the same devotion as of yore."

When the legislature met, however, Houston protested against his arbitrary removal, and some of his friends stood by him; but that body again approved every act of the convention, and there was nothing left for the old governor but to retire, disappointed and broken in spirit, to his home in Huntsville. Here he died in 1863, at the age of seventy, amid the horrors of the war he had so vividly predicted. In his long and eventful career, he had performed great services for the State, and the Texans seem to have respected his conscientious scruples in regard to the oath of allegiance. Nothing shows more clearly the determination of the people of Texas to carry out the plan of secession than this turning out of office by the convention and the legislature of this old and faithful servant. The convention was indeed a revolutionary body which assumed extraordinary functions, but its course was not unlike that of the Federal convention of 1787, which in a revolutionary manner framed our Constitution, and was approved by the people of the States and by the Congress.

In entering the Confederacy Texas risked far less than a border State like Virginia, which by its position was sure to be the battle ground of the contending forces. In fact, the situation of Texas exempted it from the chief severities of the war, though it suffered from attacks on the coast, from the blockade of its ports, and from the general demoralization of industries and social life that war brings in its train. It was not the desire of the State, however, in any manner to stand aloof and escape the consequences of secession. Far from it. The sons of Texas were found on nearly every battle field, fighting with conspicuous bravery and freely sacrificing their lives for the cause they had adopted. The people submitted willingly to conscription laws which brought into the army all men from eighteen to forty-five, with the exception of ministers, state and county officers, and slaveholders with fifteen or more slaves. In 1863 the governor of the State suggested to the legislature "that every male person from sixteen years old and upward should be

declared in the military service of the State." This suggestion seems to have been nearly carried out; for it is maintained by Texan historians that out of a total white population of 420,891, the State furnished to the Confederacy and to the domestic defences 89,500 soldiers. It should be added that the Union sentiment was strong enough to carry some two thousand Texans into the Union army. The total number of soldiers is extraordinary when we consider that the greatest number of votes previously cast in the State was only 64,000.

In 1862 it was found necessary to proclaim martial law throughout the State; yet agriculture did not cease, and the proximity of Texas to a foreign country enabled it to sell its cotton and to procure freely the necessaries of life from over the border. This trade was facilitated by the fact that the Rio Grande is a boundary river and cannot be blockaded. The problem of labor was not a difficult one. The United States census of 1860 gave the number of blacks in Texas as one hundred and eighty-three thousand, but Bancroft estimates them at two hundred and seventy thousand, and he believes that as the other States continued to send their slaves into Texas for security, the number gradually rose to about four hundred thousand. Throughout the conflict the negroes abstained from crime, and in general behaved in a manner that was gratefully remembered by the whites.

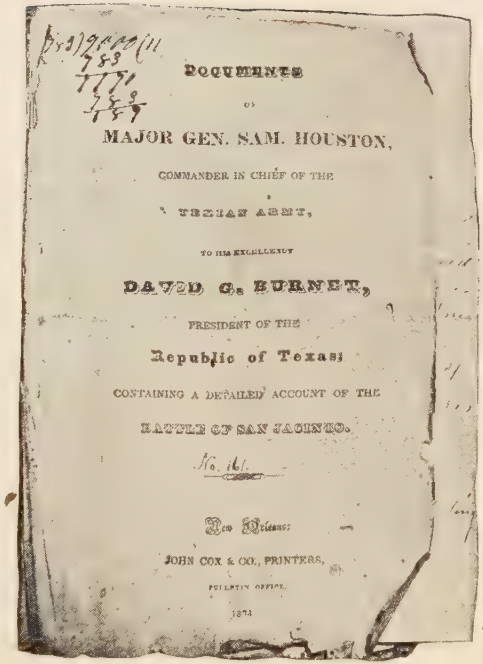
The deeds of the Texans on distant battle fields need not be recorded here. In 1862, however, a number of the soldiers of the State were enlisted by General Sibley of the Confederate army in an attack on New Mexico, where Colonel Canby was in command of the Federal forces. The Federals having crossed the Rio Grande near Mesilla were repulsed by Sibley in the battle of Valverde. The latter then advanced to Albuquerque and from that point captured Santa Fé. Other engagements of an indecisive character took place between the contending forces, until the Federals succeeded in checking the advance of the Confederates. Finally, in July of the same year, the latter, finding that the

game was not worth the candle, gave up their conquests and retired into Texas with a total loss of five hundred men.

The chief danger to the State lay in the presence of the Federal blockading squadron on the coast. In October, 1862, a portion of the Federal fleet captured the important city of Galveston, with so little show of resistance on the part of the Confederate officer in command, General Herbert, that this officer was superseded by General Magruder. The latter, in January of 1863, recaptured the city by a brilliant attack by land and sea and held it to the end of the war. Again, in September, 1863, there was a remarkable defence of Sabine Pass by the Confederates. General N. P. Banks, the Federal Commander at New Orleans, had undertaken to capture the fort at Sabine Pass and to occupy all Texas. Accordingly, four thousand men were sent under General Franklin to the Pass, and it was believed that with the aid of the navy, they could occupy Sabine City. But the fort at that point, manned by only two hundred Texans, defended the place with such success that Franklin returned to New Orleans with heavy loss. The victorious garrison received from the president of the Confederacy a silver medal.

Still bent on the conquest of Texas, General Banks, in October, 1863, sailed with six thousand men for the coast of Texas, and after capturing Brownsville and putting a stop to contraband trade on the Rio Grande, he gradually got possession of the port towns west of the Colorado. Galveston and Sabine Pass, however, being well fortified, still remained in the hands of the Confederates, and in 1864, Banks, seeing no chance of occupying the interior of Texas, withdrew from the coast and planned a great expedition through western Louisiana into Texas. This elaborate invasion was badly managed, and when it reached western Louisiana, was repulsed by General Richard Taylor. Banks, who was more of a politician than of a warrior, retreated down Red river.

The Confederacy, however, was reaching the end of its resources, and on April 9, 1865, the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox Court House practically put an end to



DOCUMENTS

OF

MAJOR GEN. SAM. HOUSTON,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE

TEXIAN ARMY,

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

DAVID G. BURNET,

PRESIDENT OF THE

Republic of Texas;

CONTAINING A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE

BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO.

No. 161.

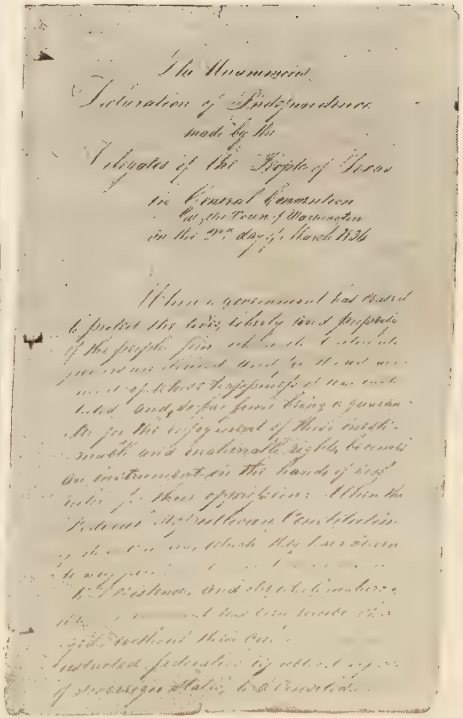
New Orleans:

JOHN COX & CO., PRINTERS,

PELICAN OFFICE.

1836

Documents relating to the battle of San Jacinto. *From the original in the University of Texas, Austin.*



The Unanimous

Declaration of Independence

made by the

Delegates of the People of Texas

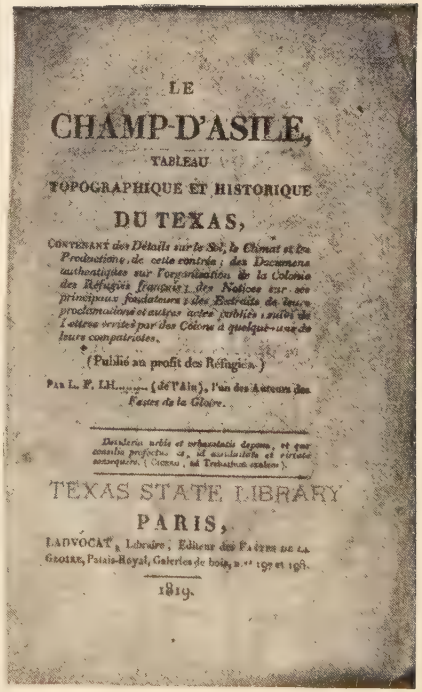
in General Convention

at the Town of Washington

on the 2nd day of March 1836

When a government has ceased to protect the lives, liberty and property of the people from which it derives its powers and for the support of which it was instituted, and to pay for which it has been taxed, and, so far from being a guarantee for the enjoyment of those inestimable and inalienable rights, becomes an instrument in the hands of rulers for their oppression: When the Federal Republican Constitution [illegible]

Declaration of Independence made by the Delegates of the People of Texas. *From the original in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.*



LE

CHAMP-D'ASILE,

TABLEAU

TOPOGRAPHIQUE ET HISTORIQUE

DU TEXAS,

CONTENANT des Détails sur le Sol, le Climat et les Productions de cette contrée; des Documens authentiques sur l'organisation de la Colonie des Réfugiés français; des Notices sur ses principaux fondateurs; des Extraits de leurs proclamations et autres actes publics; suivis de lettres écrites par des Colons à quelques-uns de leurs compatriotes.

(Publié au profit des Réfugiés.)

PAR L. F. LH..... (de l'Ain), l'un des Auteurs des Fastes de la Gloire.

Desiderio urbis et urbanitatis depone, et quæ consilia profectus es, id assiduitate et virtute consequere. (CICERO, ad Trebatium scaevolam.)

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LADVOCAT, Libraire, Éditeur des FASTES DE LA GLOIRE, Palais-Royal, Galeries de bois, n.os 197 et 198.

1819.

Title-page of work describing Texas, published at Paris in 1819. *From the original in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.*

the war. Yet, in Texas, public meetings were held, and there was a firm resolution to continue the hopeless conflict. Many believed that it might be prolonged indefinitely in so vast a country. On May 11, Jefferson Davis was captured in Georgia; and two days later the last battle of the war was fought at Palmetto Ranch, near Palo Alto on the Rio Grande. The Federals were forced to retreat, but the conflict was of no significance. On the 26th, General Kirby Smith surrendered to General Canby, and the war was over.

# CHAPTER XXIV

## *RECONSTRUCTION AND REUNION*

HOWEVER great were the losses of Texas in blood and treasure during the Civil War—and they were by no means small—the State was freed from the incubus of slavery, which had checked the immigration of the laboring classes from the west and from abroad, which had discouraged the growth of manufactures, and which had proved a source of social demoralization. No Southerner would care to restore slavery; it is clearly seen that emancipation was an inestimable blessing to the land. But Texas, like other Southern States, was still to pass through a period of storm and stress, the effects of which were more far reaching than those of the war itself.

At the close of the conflict there was in the State less bitterness against the Federal government than in other parts of the South, where the ravages of war had brought greater suffering. Texas, therefore, was prepared to renew in good faith its oath of allegiance and to take its place in the Union as soon as the way was open. The attitude of President Johnson, who had succeeded the lamented Lincoln, seemed to promise the most favorable conditions for reuniting the distracted country, and Texas hastened to take advantage of the terms of amnesty and reconstruction that he offered. His plan was to regard the ordinance of secession and all acts passed in consonance with it as null and void, to consider Texas and other Southern States as still in the Union, but the Confederate governments as illegal, owing to the participation of the citizens in the rebellion. These citizens, however, with certain excepted classes, might become

loyal and be allowed to reform their governments by taking the oath of amnesty and pardon prescribed by himself in his proclamation of May 29, 1865. The terms of this were that they "would faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations made during the existence of the present rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves."

In accordance with this plan, the president appointed Andrew J. Hamilton provisional governor of Texas, on June 17, 1865, only a few weeks after the surrender of General Kirby Smith. Governor Hamilton was originally from Alabama; but he had represented Texas in Congress in 1859, and later had opposed secession. He was now authorized to undertake the reorganization of the government of Texas by calling a convention of citizens who had complied with the conditions of pardon and by providing for the election of members of Congress. To aid the good work, the president himself, as he was doing in other States, gave a special pardon in 1865-66 to some six hundred Texans who belonged to the classes excepted in his proclamation, namely, such as had taken a prominent part in the rebellion or who had resigned from the United States army.

On January 8, 1866, there was an election of delegates to the convention for the revision of the Constitution; and the convention met on February 10. It was composed of a large Democratic element and a small extreme Union element. The constitution of 1845 was amended to suit the changed conditions; these amendments to be submitted to a vote of the people. The right of secession was distinctly renounced, as also the institution of slavery. To the freedman were given civil rights: to sue and be sued, to hold property, to be a witness in courts where one of the colored race was a party. The suffrage and the right to hold office, however, were left in the possession of the whites. The white population was at this time about five hundred thousand, and the historian Bancroft, doubtless with exaggeration, estimates the

number of negroes at about four hundred thousand. On June 19, 1865, General Gordon Granger, who was the military leader of the Federal forces in the State, had proclaimed all slaves to be free, but no provision had been made to enable them to vote for delegates to the convention. At this time they do not seem to have troubled themselves very much about the suffrage. They used their freedom to form contracts with their old masters, and while somewhat distracted by the vague notion that they were to obtain "forty acres and a mule," most of them had taken up their antebellum occupations. Moreover, President Johnson, who entertained bitter feelings toward the leading "rebels" of the South, had been brought up in a slave State, and had no desire to endow the ex-slave with the suffrage. However, in the Texan convention there was some discussion of the subject and a weak effort was made to put into the constitution an educational qualification for the suffrage, which should be applicable alike to whites and blacks. The suggestion, not receiving any strong backing, was dropped. If it had been adopted, there would doubtless have been no reconstruction of the congressional type in Texas. It had been a cherished plan of Mr. Lincoln to give the suffrage to the more intelligent freedmen, and Governor Hamilton had hinted at the advisability of it in his message to the convention. But the feeling of the convention was strongly adverse, and the opportunity was allowed to slip by. In fact, it would have been a remarkable concession if the convention, constituted as it was, had decided to confer the suffrage even on the most intelligent of their ex-slaves and thus to put them on a political equality with their former masters. The Southerners clearly perceived that, as Dr. Willoughby asserts in his *The Nature of the State,* "the attainment of political equality leads inevitably to the demand for social and economic equality."

Not only was the negro denied the right to vote and to hold office, but the presence of many idle and irresponsible among the newly emancipated caused the legislature that met

in August, 1866, to follow the example of other Southern States and to enact a labor law to regulate the employment of freedmen. This law was promptly declared null and void by the military commander, and thus never went into effect. But the enactment and enforcement of such laws in other States were seized upon by Northern Republican statesmen as an evidence that the freedmen were to be deprived of their civil rights and probably reduced again to slavery. Many Congressmen entertained this idea as an honest conviction, and determined to protect the negro by giving him the fatal gift of the ballot and by depriving the Southern "rebel" of that right until he had been pardoned by Congress. The antagonism between that body and the president as to the proper method of reconstruction hastened the steps towards that objective point.

In the meantime, under the new constitution of Texas a governor and other state officers were elected. The choice for governor fell upon James W. Throckmorton, who had lived long in Texas and had served in the Confederate army, but who had voted against secession. When he was inaugurated in August, 1866, he sent a message to the legislature, advising wise legislation in regard to the rights of freedmen, to the checking of Indian raids on the frontier, and to the taking of the proper steps to urge the national government to withdraw from the State the agents of the freedmen's bureau. He further submitted to the legislature the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution. The former, which abolished slavery, he stated had already been adopted in the preceding year by the requisite number of States and needed no further action; but as to the Fourteenth Amendment, which, among other provisions, denied the right to hold office to those Confederates who had previously sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, he declared it was unjust and unwise and should be rejected. "The effect," he said, "of the third section will be to deprive the State for nearly a quarter of a century of the services of her ablest and best men, at a time

and amidst circumstances which render these services more important than at any period of her history."

The legislature followed the advice of the governor. No action was taken on the Thirteenth Amendment, while the Fourteenth was rejected by a vote of sixty-seven to five, which indeed was its fate in all the Southern States except Tennessee, where it was adopted.

The rejection of this amendment by ten of the States was regarded by the Republicans, now in full control of Congress, as an act of defiance on the part of the South. They were the more displeased because it was known that President Johnson had encouraged the Southern legislatures to reject it. Tennessee, which accepted it, was readmitted to the Union July 24, 1866; but for the rest of the States, which had ventured to reject an amendment which gave citizenship to the negro, changed the basis of representation, guaranteed the public debt, and excluded from office so many of the Confederates—for these, drastic measures were to be employed.

The first step was to refuse to recognize senators and representatives from the South, and in January, 1867, the Texan representatives and senators, who had repaired to Washington with no great hopes of being received, sadly returned to their homes. In Congress speeches were now made, in which it was declared that in the South there was no adequate protection for the life and property of Union men, that thousands of loyal men had been driven out of that section and had taken refuge in Washington, and that "fifteen hundred men had been massacred in cold blood, whose only crime had been loyalty to the United States flag." These facts were doubtless exaggerated, but they were believed, and Thaddeus Stevens introduced a bill which declared in its preamble that "whereas the pretended State governments of the late so-called Confederate States afford no adequate protection for life or property, but countenance and encourage lawlessness and crime; and whereas it is necessary that peace and order should be enforced in said

so-called Confederate States until loyal State governments can be legally established; therefore be it enacted that the said so-called Confederate States shall be divided into military districts, and made subject to the military authority of the United States; and for that purpose Virginia shall constitute the first district . . . and Louisiana and Texas the fifth district."

This bill became the basis of the famous reconstruction acts of the spring of 1867, which were all passed over the bitter opposition of President Johnson, who was highly displeased to see his carefully planned governments ruthlessly swept away. These acts provided that the former States—now merely districts—should be placed under a Federal officer, who should protect life and property by the use of civil or of military tribunals at his discretion. When any one of the States should have framed a new constitution in a convention composed of delegates elected by voters without distinction of race or color (except such as had been disfranchised through participation in rebellion or for felony); and when this constitution should provide that the elective franchise should be enjoyed by all having the qualifications given above; and when such constitution should have been approved by the majority of voters; and when the legislature of such State should have adopted the Fourteenth Amendment, and this amendment should have become a part of the Constitution of the United States; then such State should be entitled to representation in Congress, provided that no person excluded from holding office by said Fourteenth Amendment, should be a member of the convention or vote for any member.

This carefully worded document meant that the amendment once rejected was to be enforced by military authority. Hence, in the summer of 1867, General Philip H. Sheridan was placed in command of Louisiana and Texas, or the "Fifth District." Some four thousand troops having been stationed in Texas, that State took on the appearance of a military camp under General Griffin of the regular army.

While the majority of the people of the State were deeply grieved to see the existing governments practically abolished, and Texas reduced to a military district, there were no signs of open rebellion. Governor Throckmorton informed General Sheridan that he and the rest of the officials would aid in carrying out the acts of Congress; but his acquiescence did not avail him much. He was believed to be too much in sympathy with the Confederates and with Johnson's policy, and it was alleged that he failed to punish outrages on Union men. On July 30, Sheridan, listening to these charges, removed Throckmorton "as an impediment to reconstruction," and appointed in his place E. M. Pease. Further to fulfil the requirements of Congress, it was necessary to call a convention of loyal citizens to change the existing constitution. General Griffin decided that only those who could take the iron-clad oath of 1862 should be allowed to register, and he even gave special instructions of a severe character to the boards of registration in regard to the exclusion of disloyal voters. In August, however, General Sheridan was replaced by General Hancock, who was a Johnson Democrat, and he promptly ordered the boards not to obey any special instructions, but to be guided by the law of Congress. This action had great influence in increasing the number of Democratic voters. In February 1868, the election for the calling of a convention was held, and by a vote of forty-four thousand to eleven thousand, the people decided in favor of the convention. It met in June, 1868, in the city of Austin. Ten Democrats managed to be elected, but the rest (fifty-three) were all Republicans, or claimed to be. Now, that the Federal government was in control, many Democrats found it expedient to seek office by aligning themselves with the Republicans. There were, however, in the convention two kinds of Republicans, who soon began to exhibit to each other irreconcilable opposition. The conservatives were willing to extend the suffrage to negroes, but they desired to extend it also pretty broadly to those who had participated in the "rebellion," and they insisted on recognizing certain

laws passed in 1866. The radicals, on the other hand, wished to declare null and void all laws passed since 1861 and to disfranchise about thirty thousand participants in the "rebellion." They further advocated the division of Texas into several States. After months of angry controversy, in which the Democrats took one side or the other in order to block ordinances adverse to their views, the conservatives carried the day. By a vote of thirty-seven to twenty-six on February 3, 1869, the rule of suffrage was fixed as follows: "Every male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one and upwards, not laboring under the disabilities named in this constitution, without distinction of race, color. or former condition, who shall be a resident of the State for one year and of the county sixty days preceding any election, shall be entitled to vote; *provided,* that no person shall vote or hold office who is disqualified by the Constitution of the United States, until such disqualification be removed by Congress, and provided that no lunatic or person convicted of felony be allowed to vote or hold office." The radicals entered a protest against the lack of registration and of a test oath in this provision, and the convention seems to have broken up in confusion and without a quorum. Nevertheless, the new constitution was duly submitted to the people, and in November, 1869, was ratified by a vote of 72,366 for and only 4,938 against; the registration being 78,648 whites and 56,905 colored, in a total population of 818,579.

The first governor elected under the new constitution was E. J. Davis, who belonged to the radical wing of the Republican party and who was favored by the authorities at Washington. He was elected over A. J. Hamilton by the close vote of 39,901 to 39,092. The Democrats offered no candidate, but they naturally supported Hamilton, who was a conservative. The legislature that met in 1870 showed a majority of radicals in both houses; there were two negroes in the senate and eight in the lower house. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal constitution were promptly passed.

Texas having complied with all the requirements of the acts of Congress, an act admitting its representatives to that body was approved by the president March 30, 1870. Thus, this State was the last to be reconstructed. Its new constitution, however, was not entirely satisfactory to the authorities at Washington. In the act for the admission of the State, therefore, it was provided that every member of the legislature and every officer of the government, in accordance with the radical view, should take the "iron-clad oath" or vacate his office, and that the constitution should never be so amended as to deprive any citizens—white or black—of the guaranteed rights and privileges.

Although civil government was formally reëstablished in the State on April 16, and most of the Federal troops were removed to the frontier, military rule in another form still continued. Governor Davis, who had been an officer in the Union army, did not trust the Democrats to treat the freedmen or other loyal citizens fairly. So he caused the obedient legislature to reorganize the militia, and to put under his command a state guard of three hundred police, partly white and partly black, with which he proposed to put down the lawless Ku Klux Klan and other malefactors, and to prevent the intimidation of the freedmen at the ballot box. He even asked for and was given the power to proclaim martial law. Doubtless some strong government was necessary; for now that the freedmen were aspiring to office under the Republican régime, conflicts between them and the Democrats had become very frequent. It was reported that in nine months of the year 1869 there were three hundred and eighty-four murders, or an average of one and a half a day. The appointment of negroes on the police force, authorized to arrest white men, was a cause of bitter humiliation and exasperation, which Governor Davis, with his Northern rearing, doubtless could not appreciate.

In the meantime, the Democrats were busily laying their plans to upset the radical government and regain control of the State. In this effort they knew they would be

assisted by the conservative Republicans, who were hostile to the radicals. They made a strong appeal to public sentiment by pointing to the mixed schools established by the lawmakers, to the arbitrary power of the governor over martial law, and to the reckless legislation in regard to the public lands and public funds. Large bounties of lands had been given to railroads, and not only had all the taxes been spent, but the administration of Davis saddled upon the State a debt of $4,400,000.

In 1872 the Democrats, now fully aroused, managed to elect all six representatives to Congress as well as a majority in the lower house of the legislature. By refusing to vote appropriations of money until their plans were accepted, they controlled the legislature and passed a bill, fixing the next election for members of both houses and for governor in December, 1873. In the meantime, the laws for mixed schools, for the proclamation of martial law by the governor, and other objectionable legislation were repealed. At the December election the Democrats were successful, and both branches of the house being Democratic, the new governor was declared elected and duly installed. Governor Davis maintained that his term had not expired, and appealed to President Grant for the support of the Federal forces; but the constitutional questions involved were very complicated, and the president replied that after investigation, Davis's right to the office of governor was so doubtful that he did not feel warranted in furnishing troops to aid him in holding further possession of it. Whereupon, Davis declared that his government had been overturned by a conspiracy worse than that of Catiline, against the liberties of Rome; but realizing that he was isolated, he vacated his office without further resistance.

His successor, Richard Coke, was a native of Virginia, but a resident of Texas since 1850. Under his administration Texas resumed the course of prosperity which had characterized it before the period of the civil war and reconstruction. In 1875, however, it was thought necessary to change the

constitution, and in 1876 the present instrument of government, framed entirely by the Democrats, was adopted by an overwhelming vote. It omitted the objectionable features of the previous one, but did not alter the important results of the Civil War. The political history of the State since that time does not present any facts of striking interest or importance. Texas, in its remarkable history, having passed under six flags, French, Spanish, Mexican, Texan, United States, and Confederate, has shown its determination to rest quietly under the protection of the "Stars and Stripes."

Texas is by far the largest State in the Union; it has an area of 265,780 square miles, and possesses a remarkable variety of soil. The population has increased, by giant strides, from 604,215 in 1860 to 3,048,710 in 1900, and yet the vast area is sparsely populated. Properly to develop the resources of the State there should be great additions to the present number of inhabitants, of whom the foreign-born are less than six per cent. while the negroes number about twenty per cent.

By far the most valuable crop is cotton, and in 1900 the yield was two and a half million bales (about one-fourth of the crop of the United States), worth over eighty-four million dollars. Next in importance is corn, the value of which crop in the same year was thirty-four million dollars. Other staples are cotton seed, wheat, oats, rice and hay. The attention paid to agriculture is shown by the number of farms, which was 352,00 in 1900 as compared with 228,126 in 1890. In the western part of the State many of the vast prairies are admirably fitted for ranches, upon which may be found a greater number of cattle than in any other State in the Union. In eastern and central Texas there are superb forests, which produce enormous quantities of timber. There are, also, mines of iron, copper, and coal. The wonderful production of raw materials has led to a rapid increase in manufactures during recent years. In 1900 there were 12,289 establishments, with an invested

capital of $90,400,000. These are chiefly dependent upon lumber, cotton, wheat, and their by-products. The total wealth of the State in 1902 rose to $1,017,000,000.

The growth of agriculture and manufactures has led to a remarkable increase in the facilities for transportation. This is shown by the railroad mileage, which in 1868 was only 500 miles, and in 1902, 10,078 miles. The chief ports are Brazos de Santiago, Corpus Christi, and Galveston.

Texas is particularly proud of the progress it has made in the education of the people. The great quantities of public land, retained by the State on entering the Union, have enabled it to spend large sums for public education. The total amount of land, set aside at various times and by various acts to foster education, is estimated at forty million acres. From the sale of these lands and from local and State taxation the public schools are now supported. In 1900 there were 11,133 public school buildings and 15,000 teachers. The actual enrolment was 552,503, and the cost of maintenance was $4,500,000. For higher education there are four normal schools (one for colored persons), a girls' industrial college, six denominational schools, the State Agricultural and Mechanical College at Denton, and, to crown the whole, the University of Texas at Austin, with its medical department at Galveston. This University is open to both sexes, and has about 1,500 students, with a faculty of one hundred and ten officers and professors. Since 1845 the cherished desire of the Texans has been to possess a great university. In 1858 and again in 1866 attempts were made to organize it, but the plans were rendered futile by war and then by reconstruction. When it finally opened its doors September 15, 1883, a new educational era dawned upon Texas.

## CHAPTER XXV

### *EXPLORATIONS AND CONQUESTS*

In 1527 Pánfilo de Narvaez left Spain to conquer the province of Las Palmas. His fleet of five vessels was driven by a tempest to the coast of Florida and anchored at Tampa Bay in April, 1528. The vessels were ordered to follow the coast, while Narvaez landed and marched inland with three hundred men and forty horses. Two months later he returned to the sea coast, and not finding his ships he built five boats, killed his horses for food and for their skins, and embarked in September on the Gulf of Pánuco. One of the boats, which was commanded by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, was stranded on an island, together with another boat of the small fleet of Narvaez. Of eighty Spaniards, who had been shipwrecked, only fifteen remained, and these became slaves of the Indians.

Cabeza de Vaca, Andrés Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, and an Arabian negro slave, Estevanico, succeeded in escaping from their masters, and after long wanderings arrived at San Miguel de Culiacan in Nueva Galicia, on April 1, 1536. "It appears," says Bancroft, "that starting from the Texas coast in the region between Galveston and the mouth of the Rio San Antonio, they traversed the present states of Texas and Chihuahua to northeastern Sonora; that they did not at any time probably reach so high a latitude as the Canadian and Arkansas rivers; that the mountains first met in coming from the east were the San Sabá range of western Texas; that the Rio Grande was crossed between Paso del Norte and the Presidio del Norte;

that in passing through Chihuahua they either went up the Conchos and thence northwestwardly, or up the Rio Grande and then westwardly to the headwaters of the Yaqui; that they did not visit the pueblo towns of New Mexico or Arizona, although they heard of them, and that there is nothing to indicate a journey down the Gila Valley." Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were able to go over the long route detailed above, owing to the fact that the Indians believed them to be skillful medicine men and helped them along on their journey.

The wanderers went from Culiacan to Compostela, and then to Mexico City, where they arrived on July 25, 1536. Viceroy Mendoza received them kindly and bought from Dorantes the slave, Estevanico, whom we shall soon see engaged in another exploring expedition. Cabeza de Vaca returned to Europe, and in 1540 was appointed governor and captain general of the savage tribes of the Rio de la Plata. He remained there until 1545, but was not successful, and was condemned in 1551 by the Council of the Indies to lose his titles and to be banished to Africa. Bancroft says that there is some evidence that he was pardoned. His wanderings concern the history of Mexico and that of Texas, but they are of much greater importance in regard to the history of New Mexico and Arizona, for it was his narrative of his wonderful journey that brought about the expeditions of Niza and of Coronado to the famous so-called Seven Cities of Cíbola.

Viceroy Mendoza ordered Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, Governor of Nueva Galicia, to endeavor to find out, through explorations of friars and Indians, something about the truth of the statements made by Cabeza de Vaca about the wealth of Cíbola. Coronado was later to lead a military expedition to that region, if he obtained favorable reports. Fray Marcos de Niza was chosen to be the leader of the preliminary expedition, and departed from San Miguel de Culiacan on March 7, 1539. He was a Franciscan monk, who had been with Pizarro in Peru, and with Pedro de

Cathedral of San Fernando, San Antonio, Texas, as it appeared about fifty years ago.

Mission San José de Aguayo, Bexar County, Texas.

Alvarado in Nicaragua. He took with him Estevanico and some natives from Culiacan and was accompanied by Fray Onorato, who, however, fell sick on the way and could not continue the journey. Niza went on and heard of pearl islands and of great towns and turquoises. He no doubt crossed the southern limit of Arizona, and as Estevanico was always ahead of Niza, "Black Steven" is called the discoverer of Arizona. The negro was put to death by the Indians in view of one of the towns of Cíbola, which he was not allowed to enter, and which Niza saw from a hill. He imagined it to be a large and beautiful city, and he was told that the six others beyond were still more beautiful. He erected a cross and took possession of the country in the name of the king, naming it the kingdom of San Francisco. He then set out on his return journey and arrived at Mexico in the beginning of September, accompanied by Coronado. He made a report of his expedition to Mendoza, which was more imaginative than real, but he doubtless reached the Zuñi region, and saw from a distance one of the Pueblo towns, of which the ruins are to-day of great interest to the archæologist.

Interest was so greatly excited by the narrative of Niza that it was not difficult for Coronado to collect a force for the conquest of Cíbola. He was at Compostela in February, 1540, with a small army of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians, and he left Culiacan in April, with part of his force. He had sent ahead a small party which, on their return, gave no encouraging report of the country in the north, or of the inhabitants. Coronado, however, proceeded on his march, and in July, 1540, arrived at Cíbola. He had gone over the site of the present Tucson, and one of his lieutenants, Melchor Diaz, had crossed the Colorado and named it Rio del Tizon. Some time before Hernando de Alarcón had called it Buena Guia.

Coronado named Granada the first "City" of Cíbola which he saw, and which greatly disappointed him, for it was a poor village when compared with the famous city of which Niza had spoken. The friar, therefore, was convicted

of gross exaggeration, if not worse, and was soon sent back to the south. Coronado remained at Cíbola or Zuñi until November, and sent out exploring parties, of which one, under Captain Tobar and Fray Juan Padilla, visited the Moqui villages; another, under Captain Cardenas, saw the great cañon of the Colorado, and another, under Captain Alvarado, went to Tiguex in the valley of the Rio Grande del Norte and to the edge of the buffalo plains. Alvarado had as guides an Indian, called by the Spaniards, Bigotes, on account of his long moustaches, and another named by them, El Turco.

Coronado's main army, under Arellano, arrived at Cíbola in the beginning of December, and then the Spaniards passed the winter in the province of Tiguex, suffering greatly from the cold and engaged in continual hostilities with the natives, whom they had treated outrageously. They were encouraged, however, by the reports of El Turco of gold and silver to be found beyond Tiguex, and in May, 1541, they set out on their march to the famous Quivira. They passed through a mountainous country, then they marched over the great buffalo plains for many days, and about the middle of June Coronado decided to send back his main army to Tiguex, and with thirty-six men to search for Quivira. He reached that place at the end of July and found it to be a village of straw huts, where there was no trace of gold or silver. The disappointed chief put to death the mendacious El Turco and returned to Tiguex, where the army went into winter quarters and received reinforcements from Sonora. On October 20, 1541, Coronado wrote a letter to the king, giving an account of his explorations.

At the end of the winter the chief of the expedition was severely injured in the head by a kick from a horse and became greatly despondent. Most of his men shared his feeling of discouragement, and a petition was presented by the soldiers asking for return. Preparations were made to abandon the enterprise, and the march to the south was begun in April, 1542. Two friars, Juan de Padilla, and Luis, a lay

brother, decided to remain to convert the Indians. One went to Cicuye and the other to Quivira, and it is supposed that they were put to death by the natives. Many Indians from Mexico remained also in this newly discovered region, and three of them were found in existence forty years later by Spanish explorers. Coronado arrived at Mexico with about one hundred men, the greater part of his force having disbanded at Culiacan in July, 1542. His expedition marks the beginning of the history of Arizona and New Mexico.

It is not supposed that the country explored by Coronado was visited again by white men before the year 1581, when the Franciscan friar, Agustin Rodriguez, set out from the San Bartolomé valley, "a region corresponding to the later Allende and Jimenez," says Bancroft. His purpose was principally to convert the natives, and he received the permission of the viceroy to organize a company of not more than twenty men. Eight or nine soldiers volunteered their services and two other Franciscans were assigned to the expedition by their provincial. With these men and a few Indian servants, Rodriguez explored the country as far as Coronado's Tiguex; there, the soldiers who had accompanied him started on their return journey, leaving the friars to their fate. Chamuscado, the leader of the soldiers, and two of his men, left San Bartolomé to go to Mexico to report their explorations, but Chamuscado died on the way. The two soldiers, however, gave their testimony to the viceroy, and great fears were entertained for the safety of Fray Rodriguez and his two companions. An expedition was being planned by the viceroy to go in search of the friars, and also of the silver mines mentioned by Chamuscado, but before anything was done by the authorities at Mexico, a private gentleman, Don Antonio Espejo, organized a party at his own expense to go to the country first explored by Coronado. He obtained a commission from the alcalde mayor and started from San Bartolomé on November 10, 1582. With him were Padre Bernardino Beltran and fourteen soldiers, many native servants, and one hundred and fifteen horses and mules.

Espejo succeeded in reaching the Tiguex country, and there learned of the death at Puara of the friars Rodriguez and Lopez. A little later he ascertained that the other friar, Santa María, had been killed also by the natives, but although the chief purpose of the expedition had been attained he decided to continue his explorations. He succeeded in finding silver mines and visited seventy-four pueblos, to which he gave a very large population. He returned to San Bartolomé, on September 20, 1583, having been preceded by Padre Beltran, who had left him during his wanderings. Rodriguez called the country visited by him San Felipe, and Espejo, Nueva Andalucía. Bancroft says that the first occurrence of the name, Nuevo México, is in Rio de Losa's essay written about this time, and he adds: "It was obviously natural that such a name should have suggested itself as appropriate for any newly discovered province, whose people and buildings resembled in a general way—that is, in comparison with the wild tribes and their huts—those of the valley of Mexico."

After the expedition of Beltran and Espejo several persons offered their services for the conquest of New Mexico and for the settlement of the country, Espejo himself being of the number; but they did not obtain the necessary license from the Spanish authorities. However, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa fitted out an expedition without permission, in 1590, for the purpose of forming a settlement. He had with him women and children and visited many pueblos, but he was arrested by an officer sent by the viceroy and brought back in fetters. A few years later another illegal expedition, under Bonillo and Humaña, ended in the massacre of nearly the whole party by the Indians.

The conquest of New Mexico was achieved by Don Juan de Oñate, a resident of Zacatecas, and son of the valiant conquistador, Don Cristóbal. His wife, Doña Isabel, was the daughter of Juan de Tolosa, granddaughter of Cortés, and great-granddaughter of Montezuma. He made a contract, in 1595, with Viceroy Velasco, to conquer and colonize New Mexico, and he was made governor, captain general and

adelantado of the country that he was to settle. He succeeded in recruiting a force necessary for the expedition and obtained the aid of his four brothers and his nephews, the brothers Zaldívar, but his departure was delayed considerably by a change in the office of viceroy. It was only in January, 1598, that Oñate started on his march northward and began an expedition which has been related in an epic poem written by Captain Gaspar de Villagra, one of his conquerors.

The party arrived at the Rio Grande in April, 1598, and Oñate took formal possession of New Mexico and all adjoining provinces "for God, the king, and himself." Religious ceremonies were held, and in the evening a comedy, written by Captain Farfan, was represented. Twenty-five miles up the Rio Grande the Spaniards crossed the river at a ford, which is said to have been the original El Paso del Norte, where is now a flourishing city. They visited afterwards several pueblos and established in July a town which they called San Juan de los Caballeros. This is also known by the name of San Gabriel, from the establishment of the friars there, and was for some time the capital of the Spanish in New Mexico. It is thought by some historians that Santa Fé was founded at that time, 1598, but 1605 is the most probable date of the foundation of that city.

Oñate explored the country extensively and received the submission of the natives, who readily acknowledged the supremacy of the king of Spain. At Acoma, however, the Indians made a conspiracy against the Spaniards, and Juan Zaldívar was killed by them. His death was avenged by his brother, Vicente, who with seventy men captured the peñol or cliff pueblo, destroyed it and slaughtered the greater part of the inhabitants. The remainder were captured and compelled to settle on the plain, and from that time the natives in the region occupied by the Spaniards offered no resistance to the conquerors. The settlers who had come with their families were satisfied with their present abode, but Oñate went further north to continue his explorations and proceeded

probably as far as Quivira, which Coronado had visited in 1541. On his return to San Juan he found the place almost deserted by the colonists and the friars, and he sent messengers to the viceroy and to the king to obtain further support. He received some reinforcements and explored the country in January, 1605, down to the mouth of the Colorado. He gave that name to a branch of that river, and he called the main stream Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza. He admired the harbor at the mouth of the Colorado and named it Puerto de la Conversion de San Pablo. He returned then to San Juan in New Mexico and governed that province until the year 1608. It is supposed that San Francisco de la Santa Fé was founded during his administration, in 1605.

From the time of Oñate to the year 1680 there is nothing of importance to notice in the history of New Mexico. The natives were converted in large numbers, but their priests or sorcerers, as the Spaniards called them, had still great influence over them, and in 1680 there was a general rising of the Indians against their oppressors in secular as well as in religious matters. On August 10, 1680, the northern missions and settlements were attacked, and in the north, the east, and the west, more than four hundred Spaniards were massacred. In the south the people had time to escape, and at Santa Fé Governor Ostermin resisted for five days the attacks of three thousand Indians, and succeeded in leaving the town with about one thousand persons. The exiles established a camp at El Paso del Norte, where the Franciscans had a mission, and in 1681 a presidio or town was founded at that place.

The natives had revolted under the leadership of an Indian named Pope, and after the expulsion of the Spaniards the Indians returned to their ancient religious rites. Many pueblos were destroyed by Apache raiders and by the Spanish, who for twelve years endeavored in vain to reconquer the country. This was accomplished in 1692 by Governor Diego de Vargas, who took possession of Santa Fé without striking a blow. Advancing with a small force of soldiers and Indian

auxiliaries he re-occupied Zuñi and the Moqui towns and other pueblos, promising to pardon the rebels, and he returned to El Paso, after having received the submission of all the pueblos and caused thousands of Indian children to be baptized.

In 1693, Vargas returned to the pueblos with soldiers and settlers, and after considerable fighting with the natives he re-conquered nearly the whole country, in 1696. His successor, Cubero, accomplished little, and Vargas, who had been made a marquis by the king, after having been kept for two years in a Santa Fé prison, returned as governor, in 1703. He died the next year while leading a campaign against the Apaches. The Moquis remained hostile for many years, and the history of New Mexico during the eighteenth century is merely an account of engagements with Indians and attempts of the friars to convert the natives.

Some trading was carried on with the Indians as well as with the Mexicans at Chihuahua, where an annual fair was held, and whither the New Mexicans went in caravans at the end of the year. There was no coin in the province, and the trade was all barter or *cambalache*. The population of New Mexico, at the end of the eighteenth century, was, including El Paso, 34,138, of whom about 10,000 were Indians. The town of San Felipe de Albuquerque had been founded in 1701 by Governor Cuervo.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### *MEXICAN DOMINATION—AMERICAN CONQUEST*

In 1811 New Mexico was represented in the Spanish Córtes by Pedro Bautista Pino. The inhabitants of the province seem to have been very loyal to Ferdinand VII, as they sent him a gift of nine thousand dollars when their representative went to Spain. However, they displayed little patriotism during the War of Independence, siding neither with the revolutionists nor with the Spanish government. Nevertheless, the news of Iturbide's entry into Mexico was received with great enthusiasm, and at Santa Fé the last Spanish governor, Facundo Melgares, addressed the people and exclaimed: "New Mexicans, this is the occasion for showing the heroic patriotism that inflames you; let your sentiments of liberty and gratitude be published abroad, and let us show tyrants, that although we live at the very extremity of North America we love the holy religion of our fathers; that we cherish and protect the desired union between Spaniards of both hemispheres; and that, with the last drop of blood, we will sustain the sacred independence of the Mexican empire."

The last years of the Spanish domination were of little importance, except that the cession of Louisiana to the United States, in 1803, turned the attention of the Americans to the western country and brought about the famous expedition of Lewis and Clark and that of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike. The latter, after having come, in November, 1806, to the great peak in Colorado which bears his name, reached, in January, 1807, a large river, which he thought was the Red

river, and he built a fort there and raised the flag of the United States. It was the Rio Grande, however, and Pike was taken to Santa Fé by order of the New Mexican authorities. He was well treated by Governor Alencaster, at Santa Fé, and by General Salcedo, at Chihuahua, and was finally sent back to the United States, reaching Natchitoches in July.

In 1815 Auguste P. Chouteau and Julius de Mun organized a party to trade with the Indians on the Upper Arkansas, and in 1817 they were arrested with twenty-four of their companions, their goods were confiscated and themselves taken to Santa Fé. They were liberated after two days, but their property was not restored to them.

Writing of the end of the Spanish domination in 1822, Bancroft says that "the government and administration of justice were still essentially military. There were no ayuntamientos or other municipal bodies, no courts, no taxes, no treasuries or municipal funds. Each of the eight alcaldes attended to all the local matters in his own *alcaldia,* being responsible to the governor, from whose decision the only appeal was to the audiencia of Guadalajara. An audiencia at Chihuahua was deemed an urgent necessity. The governor, with a salary of four thousand dollars, had no legal adviser or notary, but was aided by two lieutenants and two alfereces. The alcaldes were vecinos, who got no pay. A lieutenant of the governor in his military capacity ruled at El Paso for a salary of two thousand dollars. The regular military force supported by the royal treasury was one hundred and twenty-one men, forming the presidial or veteran company of Santa Fé."

While New Mexico was part of the Mexican republic the chief magistrate was called until 1837, *jefe politico,* and later, *gobernador.* One of the *Provincias Internas* until January, 1824, New Mexico, joined to Chihuahua and Durango, formed part of the *Estado Interno del Norte.* In July, 1824, it took the name of territory, El Paso being separated from it and attached to Chihuahua. In 1836 it became a department of the Mexican Republic.

In August, 1837, a revolution broke out, and Governor Albino Perez was killed by the insurgents. They took possession of Santa Fé and elected as governor José Gonzales, a pueblo Indian of Taos. Manuel Armijo, however, who had been *jefe politico* in 1827, *pronounced* against Gonzales, who was defeated in battle near La Cañada, on January 27, 1838, and shot. Armijo was confirmed in the position of governor which he had assumed, and it was during his administration that the unfortunate Santa Fé expedition of the Texans, already related, took place in 1841, under General Hugh McLeod. We have also mentioned in our narrative of the history of Texas what was the fate in 1843 of Colonel Snively and his men, who lay in wait on the Arkansas for the caravan from Missouri to Santa Fé.

The Santa Fé trade may be said to have really begun at the time Mexico achieved her independence from Spain in 1821, and Captains Glenn Becknell and Stephen Cooper are mentioned among the earliest traders. The Mexican authorities did not oppose the traffic, and large caravans started yearly from Franklin, Missouri, and later (1831) from Independence. The Arkansas river was then the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, and was about midway of the route of eight hundred miles, which was in an almost direct line from Missouri to San Miguel del Vado, and thence northwest to Santa Fé. The caravans set out in May, arrived in July, and started in August on the return journey. There were at first pack-animals, then wagons drawn by horses and mules, and later by mules or oxen. The trade was very profitable, although the traders were exposed to attacks from the Indians. The caravan of 1842 left Missouri in May with sixty-two wagons, eight hundred mules, and one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in goods.

New Mexico, during the Spanish and Mexican dominations, had not progressed rapidly in wealth and in population, or in educational matters. For four weeks, in 1835, the *Crepúsculo* was issued by Padre Antonio José Martinez. It was the first newspaper before the American occupation.

Indeed, New Mexico seemed to have been awaiting the arrival of the Americans for the development of its material and intellectual resources.

In preceding pages we have narrated the campaigns of Generals Taylor and Scott in Mexico, and have mentioned the occupation of New Mexico by General Kearny. We shall now relate briefly this important event. In June, 1846, an army was organized at Leavenworth for a western campaign, to be under the command of Colonel Stephen W. Kearny. The advance division numbered about seventeen hundred men and comprised three hundred United States dragoons, under Major Edwin V. Sumner, a regiment of mounted Missouri volunteers, under Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan, and five additional companies of volunteers. The second division of the army numbered about eighteen hundred men, among whom was a Mormon battalion.

The army set out in June, and in August encamped near Bent's fort on the Arkansas. Captain Cook was sent to Santa Fé with twelve men on a kind of embassy, and was accompanied by James Magoffin, an Irish Kentuckian, who had long been in the Santa Fé trade. He had been presented to the president and secretary of state by Senator Benton, and had said that he might persuade the officials at Santa Fé not to resist the occupation of the territory by the Americans. Captain Cook saw Governor Armijo, who sent him back to Kearny with a commissioner, and according to Benton, Magoffin succeeded in persuading the governor and Archuleta, the second in command, not to defend the Apache Cañon, through which the American army had to pass on its march to Santa Fé. Armijo, however, advanced toward Apache Cañon with about two thousand men, but he soon retreated to the south and left the way open for Kearny. The latter, who had received his commission as brigadier-general, passed through the cañon on August 18th, and the same day, at six o'clock in the afternoon, he entered Santa Fé without any opposition and caused the flag of the United States to be raised and saluted with thirteen guns.

On August 19th General Kearny assembled the people in the plaza, addressed them, and made the former New Mexican authorities take the oath of allegiance to the United States. On August 22, 1846, he issued a proclamation which is very interesting and of which the following is a part: "It is the wish and intention of the United States to provide for New Mexico a free government, with the least possible delay, similar to those of the United States, and the people of New Mexico will then be called on to exercise the rights of free men in electing their own representatives to the territorial legislature; but until this can be done, the law hitherto in existence will be continued until changed or modified by competent authority; and those persons holding office will continue in the same for the present, provided they will consider themselves good citizens and willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. The undersigned hereby absolves all persons residing within the boundary of New Mexico from further allegiance to the republic of Mexico and hereby claims them as citizens of the United States. Those who remain quiet and peaceable will be considered as good citizens and receive protection. Those who are found in arms, or instigating others against the United States will be treated as traitors and treated accordingly; Don Manuel Armijo, the late governor of this government, has fled from it. The undersigned has taken possession of it without firing a gun or shedding a drop of blood—in which he most truly rejoices, and for the present will be considered as governor of this territory."

General Kearny had been instructed by the secretary of war to establish a temporary civil government in the places he should conquer. He, therefore, set Captain Waldo, of the volunteers, to translate the Spanish and Mexican laws, which had been in force in New Mexico, and Colonel Doniphan, aided by Willard P. Hall, prepared for the new Territory a code of laws based in part on the Spanish and Mexican laws, but principally on the laws of Missouri and Texas. The code, printed in English and Spanish, was published on

October 7, 1846. Kearny had organized the civil government on September 22, by appointing the officials who were to administer it, as follows: governor, Charles Bent; secretary, Donaciano Vigil; marshal, Richard Dallam; district-attorney, Francis P. Blair, Jr.; treasurer, Charles Blumner; auditor, Eugene Leitzendorfer; judges of the supreme court, Joan Houghton, Antonio José Otero, and Charles Beaubien. An "organic law of the territory of New Mexico" was also prepared and sent to Washington for approval. President Polk approved all of Kearny's acts, except those establishing a permanent Territorial government and giving the inhabitants of New Mexico the political rights of citizens of the United States.

General Kearny left Santa Fé, on his march to California, on September 25, 1846, with three hundred dragoons, but meeting Kit Carson, who gave him the erroneous information that California had been conquered, Kearny sent back to Santa Fé two hundred of his dragoons. Before his departure he had issued several orders about military affairs which we shall now consider. He had sent forces under Major Gilpin and Colonel Jackson to Abiquiu and Cebolleta on the frontier of the Navajos and he had ordered Colonel Doniphan to proceed to Chihuahua to meet General Wool, as soon as the regiment of Missouri volunteers, under Colonel Sterling Price, had arrived. The Mormon battalion was to follow him to California. Of the latter troops only three hundred and forty men were able to take part in Kearny's expedition to California; the others, about one hundred and fifty in number, were ill and went a little later to Salt Lake. Doniphan, before starting for Chihuahua, received orders to go to the Navajo country, and there, with Jackson and Gilpin, signed on November 22d, a treaty of peace with the Indians. Colonel Doniphan then set out with a force of about nine hundred men on his memorable march to Chihuahua and then to Saltillo, of which we have already given an account in our narrative of the war between the United States and Mexico.

The conquest of New Mexico had been made so easily that the Americans had little apprehension of any revolt of the people of the territory. Colonel Price commanded the troops after the departure of General Kearny for California, and he had nearly two thousand men under his orders, of whom many, however, were sick. The greater part of the army was stationed at Santa Fé, but there were detachments at other places: at Albuquerque, under Captain Burgwin; in the Mora valley, under Captain Hendley, and at Cebolleta, on the frontier of the Navajos. The confidence of the Americans in the peaceful disposition of the New Mexicans was misplaced, for a plot was made by many of them to revolt against the conquerors and to kill them and the natives who were friendly to them. Tomás Ortiz and Diego Archuleta were the leaders of the conspirators, who were to execute their plan on Christmas night, but it was revealed to the Americans. Colonel Price ordered the arrest of several of the supposed leaders, but Ortiz and Archuleta succeeded in escaping to the south.

There being no further signs of an insurrection, Governor Charles Bent went, on January 14, 1847, to his home at Taos, where six days later, he was attacked by the Indians and killed and scalped. Four other Americans were also killed at Taos, and several at other places. On hearing of the revolt of the Indians, Colonel Price marched against them with three hundred and fifty-three men, and defeated them on January 24, to the number of fifteen hundred. He next attacked the Indians on February 24, at the pueblo of Taos, and killed one hundred and fifty of them, losing more than fifty of his men, among whom was Captain Burgwin. Shortly before, Captain Hendley had been killed in an attack on Mora, which was destroyed, a little later, by Captain Morin. A guerrilla warfare continued until July, after which there were no more hostilities, except that the Indians harassed considerably the traders on the Santa Fé trail.

The feeling between the Americans and the New Mexicans, after the revolt of 1847, was one of distrust, and troops

were more than ever necessary to prevent another insurrection. The volunteers, whose terms of enlistment had expired, were replaced by others, and Colonel Price, who had become a brigadier-general, marched from Santa Fé with part of his troops, and in March, 1848, took part in the last battle of the Mexican War at Santa Cruz de Rosales, near Chihuahua. After peace had been signed between the United States and Mexico the military government continued to be of more importance than the civil. Secretary Donaciano Vigil had succeeded Governor Bent as acting governor in 1847, and continued nominally in the office until October, 1848, when he was succeeded by the commandants, Major John M. Washington and Colonel John Monroe. Conventions were held, first to establish a Territorial government, and then to organize New Mexico as a State. A constitution was framed in 1850, a governor and a lieutenant-governor were elected, as well as a legislature, which chose senators of the United States. The military governor, however, declared all elections and acts of the new authorities null and void, as "the state government of New Mexico has no legal existence until New Mexico shall be admitted into the Union as a state by the congress of the United States."

New Mexico was not far from statehood in 1850, for, by an act signed on September 9th of that year, it was provided by Congress with a Territorial government. The Territory comprised nearly the present area of New Mexico and Arizona, and a small area now within Colorado. The question of slavery was left to be decided by the people of the Territory when New Mexico would be admitted as a State, but meanwhile it was admitted as a Territory without conditions prohibiting slavery. We have seen that Texas abandoned in 1850 its claim to the eastern part of New Mexico, and received from the United States government ten million dollars, of which part was to compensate the relinquishment of the claim. We shall now leave New Mexico as a Territory of the United States and shall consider the history of that part of the country which later became Arizona.

David Crockett. *From the original in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.*

## CHAPTER XXVII

### *THE TERRITORY OF ARIZONA*

THE expedition of Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539, during which the negro slave, Estévan or Estevanico, and Niza himself crossed Arizona, has been related. Vasquez de Coronado did likewise in 1542, Espejo in 1583, and Oñate in 1598. The latter found the Mar del Sur in 1604, but during the greater part of the seventeenth century we have nothing to chronicle, except the establishment of a few missions among the Indians. It was only in 1687 that the Jesuit Father, Eusebio Francisco Kino, founded the frontier mission of Dolores. From that point he extensively explored Pimería Alta, the home of the Pimas, but which included also that of the Papagos, Sobas, and Sobaipuris, and other tribes. The boundaries of Pimería were: "on the south the rivers Altar and San Ignacio with the latter's southern affluents; on the north, in a general way, the Gila valley; on the west, the gulf and Rio Colorado, and on the east, the San Pedro, the country furthest east being the home of the Apaches and other savage tribes." Father Kino died in 1711. The Colorado he had named Rio de los Mártires; the Gila, Rio de los Apóstoles, and the four branches of the latter, Los Evangelistas.

The first Spanish settlement of Arizona was made in 1732, by Father Felipe Segesser, at San Javier del Bac, and Father Juan Bautista Grashoffer, at San Miguel de Guevavi. Then Father Ignacio Javier Keller visited the Casa Grande and made two trips to the Gila in 1736 to 1737, and Father Jacobo Sedelmair made various *entradas* from 1743 to 1750.

The Jesuits and the Franciscans were in rivalry in attempting to convert the Indians, but they were not very successful, especially in regard to the Moquis. The two missions of Bac and Guevavi, protected by a presidio of fifty men established at Tubac in 1752, were the only establishments of the Spaniards in later Arizona until the year 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled and their missions were put in charge of the Franciscans of the college of Santa Cruz de Querétaro in 1768.

San José de Tucson was a *ranchería visita* of Bac, but probably in 1776 the presidio was transferred thither from Tubac. In 1826 a military company was again placed at Tubac. The Franciscan Friar, Father Francisco Garcés, was as zealous in exploring the country and in converting the Indians as the Jesuit Father Kino had been. In 1774 he accompanied Captain Juan B. Anza, of the presidio of Tubac, on an expedition to California, and was with him again in 1775, on another expedition, but did not go any further than the Colorado river, whilst Anza went on to California and returned in May, 1776, to Tubac. Father Garcés visited the Moquis in 1776, but did not succeed in converting them, and after going up the Colorado once more in 1779, he was killed in 1781, together with about fifty Spaniards, when the missions of San Pedro y San Pablo and Concepción were destroyed by the Indians. Indeed, there is nothing in the annals of Arizona to the year 1841, but a tale of warfare with the Apaches in resisting their constant raids, and narratives of explorations made by bold trappers and pioneers such as James O. Pattie, Pauline Weaver, Kit Carson, and other adventurers.

We have seen that General Kearny, after his conquest of New Mexico, crossed Arizona in 1846 on his march to California. He was followed by Colonel Cooke with the Mormon battalion, which camped at Tuscon on December 17, 1846, and reached the Colorado on January 9, 1847. "The wagon road thus opened," says Bancroft, "was not only utilized by the California emigrants in the following years, but as a possible railroad route it was a potent element in

prompting the later purchase by the United States of territory north of the Gila." In 1848 a census report gave Tucson seven hundred and sixty inhabitants, and Tubac two hundred and forty-nine. The latter post was abandoned at the end of 1848, but was reoccupied a little later by a small garrison.

In 1851 Captain L. Sitgreaves made the first government exploration across northern Arizona, and he was followed in that country in 1853 by Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, and in 1854 and 1855 by Lieutenant John G. Parke. In 1848 and in 1849 many emigrants crossed southern Arizona in quest of gold in California and were exposed to great hardships in seasons of drought and to danger from the Apaches when the gold-seekers went in small parties. In 1851, Roys Oatman, of Independence, Missouri, was murdered by the Indians on the Gila river, with his wife and four children. His son, Lorenzo, aged fourteen, was stunned and left for dead, and his daughters, Olive, aged sixteen, and Mary Ann, aged ten, were carried off by the Indians. The boy recovered and finally reached San Francisco, but the girls were sold to the Mohaves, after having been carried northward into the mountains. The younger soon died, but Olive remained in slavery among the Indians until 1857, when she was ransomed and succeeded in joining her brother, with whom she went to live in New York. The narrative of the adventures of the brother and sister is said to be very interesting. They certainly led lives, which in thrilling experiences rivalled those of the heroes and heroines of Fenimore Cooper.

Probably the first child born of American parents in Arizona was a son born to Mrs. Howard on a flatboat on which she was making a journey down the Gila from the Pima villages, with her husband and a doctor and a clergyman. The boy was named Gila. The first steamer to go up the Colorado was the *Uncle Sam,* commanded by Captain Turnbull, which reached Fort Yuma in December, 1852.

By the "Gadsden Purchase," a treaty concluded on December 30, 1853, by James Gadsden, United States minister to

Mexico, all of modern Arizona south of the Gila was acquired by the United States for ten million dollars. This region is known as the Mesilla valley, although it is considerably larger than the valley itself. The treaty was ratified and published in 1854, and commissioners were sent from Mexico and from the United States to establish the boundary line. There were explorations of the country by Americans, among which was that of Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, who visited the Moqui Pueblos in 1858. An important wagon road was opened in 1858, over which ran for two years "Arizona's first stage, the Butterfield overland line from Marshall, Texas, to San Diego, carrying the mails and passengers twice a week, until the service was stopped by Indian depredations."

In 1856 the United States took military possession of the "Gadsden Purchase," and Forts Buchanan, Mojave, and Breckenridge were established. Owing to mining operations the population increased considerably from 1855 to 1860, and Tucson and Tubac prospered somewhat. At the latter town the first newspaper in Arizona was published, from 1858 to 1860, the weekly *Arizonian*. Congress added southern Arizona or the "Gadsden Purchase" to New Mexico, in which country the territory north of the Gila was included. The Territory of New Mexico, on January 18, 1855, attached the "Gadsden Purchase" to Doña Ana county, but it was felt that Arizona should be a distinct Territory, and many efforts were made to obtain from Congress a Territorial government. In 1860 a constitutional convention was held by the people of Arizona, and officers for the proposed Territory were elected and laws were adopted. Nothing came from this attempt to organize the territory, and although New Mexico was in favor of a division, it was only on February 24, 1863, that Arizona was admitted as a Territory of the United States.

In 1861 Arizona was almost entirely southern in sentiment, and Bancroft says that Granville H. Oury was elected in August, 1861, a delegate to the Confederate congress. In

July, 1861, Colonel John R. Baylor took possession of the Mesilla valley for the Confederacy, with a Texan force, and organized a military government. Forts Buchanan and Breckenridge were abandoned, and in 1862 Captain Hunter, marching from Mesilla, took possession of Tucson without opposition with a force of two or three hundred Texans. On April 15th there was a skirmish at El Picacho between a few Confederates and Federals, and the latter lost three men and the former one or two. The Federals formed part of the California column, a force of about eighteen hundred men, under Colonel James H. Carleton. Captain Hunter retreated to the Rio Grande, and on May 20, 1862, Tucson was reoccupied by the Federals. Colonel Tarleton was made brigadier-general and was put in command of the department, where there were no hostilities after the departure of Hunter.

The name Arizona comes from "the former Papago locality of *Arizonac* or *Arizonaca,* probably meaning 'place of small springs,' a few miles from the present Nogales, where some celebrated nuggets of silver were discovered in 1736 to 1741." The Territory having been organized by Congress, President Lincoln appointed the Territorial officials, who arrived in Arizona on September 27, 1863. Prescott, on Granite Creek, which had just been founded, was the temporary capital, and the legislature, which met there in 1863, adopted a mining law and a general code of laws and divided the territory into four counties under the names of Pima, Yuma, Mojave, and Yavapai. The first governor of the territory was John N. Goodwin, from 1863 to 1865, and among his successors we see the name of John C. Frémont, who was governor from 1879 to 1881. The seat of government was at Prescott, then at Tucson, at Prescott again, and is now at Phœnix. The total population in 1900 was 122,931, of whom 26,480 were Indians, and 1,848 were negroes. The principal Indian tribes are: Navajo, about 16,000; Papago, 3,900; Pima, 4,400; San Carlos Apache, 2,542; White Mountain Apache, 1,952; other Apache, 600; Mohave, 2,635; Hopi, 1,841; Walapai, 573; Maricopa, 350;

Chemehuevi, 250; Havasupai, 243. The United States government had great trouble in subduing the Indians of Arizona, and it was only in 1886 that hostilities with them ceased by the surrender of the redoubtable chief Gerónimo.

The national government maintains boarding and day schools for Indians among various tribes, as well as at Phœnix, Tucson, and Rice stations. The public school system was established in 1871, and education is compulsory. There are primary, grammar, and high schools, and two normal schools, one at Tempe, in Maricopa County, and one at Flagstaff. The Territorial University, including the School of Mines, and the laboratories of the Agricultural Experiment Station, was established at Tucson in 1885, and was opened in October, 1891. In 1901 Arizona was third among the States and Territories in copper production; fifth in silver, and sixth in gold.

The Colorado river flows for four hundred miles through the famous Grand Cañon of Arizona, one of the wonders of the world. Its chief affluent in the Territory is the Gila; the other tributaries are the Virgin, the Colorado Chiquito, and Bill Williams fork. The Salado, the Verde, and the San Pedro are important tributaries of the Gila.

We shall close our account of the Territory of Arizona by the following interesting description of its climate.

"Shut in on all sides from the ocean by mountain ranges and wide areas of land, Arizona is without rain for the greater part of the year. The air is clear, and the rays of the unclouded sun have great power. At night the radiation is unobstructed and the temperature falls rapidly. Owing to the extreme dryness of the air the evaporation from all moist surfaces is rapid, and the high temperatures shown by the dry-bulb thermometer are less oppressive than much lower temperatures in a humid atmosphere. There is a short season of rain in the spring and one in midsummer, and the accumulation of snow on the mountains in winter gives rise to springs, rivulets, and forest growth."

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### *THE TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO*

The first officials of the Territory of New Mexico were appointed by the president in 1851, as follows: James S. Calhoun, governor; William S. Allen, secretary; Grafton Baker, chief justice, and John S. Watts and Horace Mower, associate justices; Elias P. West, attorney, and John G. Jones, marshal. The inauguration of Governor Calhoun took place on March 3, 1851, and the first legislative assembly met at Santa Fé, on June 2, 1851. The proceedings of the legislature were conducted in Spanish, and the acts and journals were printed both in Spanish and in English. The Territory was divided by the first legislature into nine counties: Taos, Rio Arriba, Santa Fé, San Miguel, Santa Ana, Bernallilo, Valencia, Socorro, and Doña Ana.

The history of the palace at Santa Fé is, to a great extent, the history of New Mexico, and we reproduce here a very interesting extract from a report of Ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince, who is a well-known historian and archæologist: "Without disparaging the importance of any of the historical localities of the East, it may be truthfully said that this ancient palace surpasses in historic interest and value any other place or object in the United States. It antedates the settlement of Jamestown by two years, and that of Plymouth by fifteen, and has stood during the three centuries of its erection, not as a cold rock or monument, with no claim upon the interest of humanity, except the bare fact of its continued existence, but as the living centre of everything of historic

importance in the southwest. Through all that long period, whether under Spanish, Pueblo, Mexican, or American control, it has been the seat of power and authority. Whether the ruler was called viceroy, captain general, political chief, department commander, or governor, and whether he presided over a kingdom, a province, a department, or a territory, this has been his official residence.

"From here Oñate started in 1605 on his adventurous expedition to the Eastern plains; here, one year later, eight hundred Indians came from far off Quivira to ask aid in the war with the Axtaos; from here in 1618 Vicente de Salivar set forth to the Moqui country, only to be turned back by rumors of the giants to be encountered; in one of its strong rooms the commissary general of the Inquisition was imprisoned fifty years later by Peñalosa; within its walls, fortified as for a siege, the bravest of the Spaniards were massed in the revolution of 1680; here, on the 19th of August of that year, was given the order to execute forty-seven Pueblo prisoners in the plaza which faces the building; here, but a day later, was the sad war council held which determined on the evacuation of the city; here was the scene of triumph of the Pueblo chieftains, as they ordered the destruction of the Spanish archives and the church ornaments in one grand conflagration; here De Vargas, on September 14, 1692, after the eleven hours' combat of the preceding day, gave thanks to the Virgin Mary, to whose aid he attributed his triumphant capture of the city; here, more than a century later, on March 3, 1807, Lieutenant Pike was brought before Governor Alencaster as an invader of Spanish soil; here, in 1822, the Mexican standard, with its eagle and cactus, was raised in token that New Mexico was no longer a dependency of Spain; here José Gonzalez, a Pueblo Indian of Taos, was installed as governor of New Mexico, soon after to be executed by order of Armijo; here in the principal reception room, on August 12, 1846, Captain Cook, the American envoy, was received by Governor Armijo and sent back with a message of defiance; and here, five days later,

General Kearny formally took possession of the city, and slept, after his long and weary march, on the carpeted earthen floor of the palace.

"From every point of view it is the most important historical building in the country, and its ultimate use should be as the home of the wonderfully varied collections of antiquities which New Mexico will furnish.

"Coming down to more modern times, it may be added that here General Lew Wallace wrote *Ben Hur,* while governor, in 1879 and 1880."

In the narrative of the history of Texas there was mentioned the invasion of New Mexico in 1862 by General Sibley, with his brigade of Texan rangers. Albuquerque and Santa Fé were occupied by the Confederates, but they retreated from the territory in 1862, after some engagements with Federal troops from Colorado, which were reinforced by the "California Column" from Arizona.

The archæological remains in New Mexico are so numerous and so important that we give here an account of them and of the ancient inhabitants, taken from the *Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, New Mexico,* by Edgar L. Hewett, in bulletin 32 of the bureau of American Ethnology, 1906:

"The ruins of prehistoric habitations, occurring in vast numbers throughout the Jemez plateau, are of two general classes, cliff dwellers and pueblos.

"The cliff dwellings of this district are quite generally of the excavated type, whence the term, 'cavate dwellings,' which is sometimes applied to them. This type embraces a wide range of domiciles. The most primitive is the natural open cave, formed principally by wind erosion, and only slightly, if at all, enlarged and shaped by excavation. A considerable advance over this type is shown in the wholly artificial dwelling excavated in the perpendicular face of the cliff, the front walls being formed of the natural rock *in situ.* Numerous variations occur, the most important of which are those with cased doorways and those with front wholly or in part of masonry. It is evident that when in use

the majority of the dwellings are rendered much more commodious by the building of porches, as shown in the restoration in front of the excavated rooms. In some cases complete houses were built upon the sloping talus, as shown in the restoration of Tslurige, the excavated rooms at the back being used mainly for storage and burial crypts. These cliff dwellings occur in vast numbers on the southern faces of the tongue-like mesas (potreros) of volcanic tufa that extend out from the face of the mountains toward the valley on what is known as the Pajarito plateau, the table-land lying between the Jemez range and the Rio Grande. They occur also in similar formations in the mesas that are drained by the southern and western tributaries of the Chama. Occasionally they are found in cliffs with eastern exposures, but they very rarely face north and west.

"The pueblo ruins are those of the many-chambered community houses which are found upon the mesa tops and in valleys independent of any support from natural cliffs. They exist in large numbers on the Pajarito plateau, from Cochute north to the rim of the table-land overlooking the Chama valley; and in valleys of the northern tributaries of the lower Chama, on the mesas both north and south of the upper Chama, particularly in the Gallinas 'bad lands,' and in the Jemez valley.

"The pueblo structure is invariably a cluster of rooms or cells. There are numerous variations of extension and arrangement. In some cases the rooms are arranged irregularly and in others they have a definite alignment of common wall. The small pueblos were but one story high, while the majority of large ones are from two to four stories. There was a general tendency to build them in quadrangular form. Many single-chambered ruins are found in the vicinity of the pueblos. These were for the most part simply camps or look-outs, similar to those now used by the Pueblo Indians in summer.

"Petroglyphs or rock pictures are numerous throughout the districts, especially so on the Puyé cliffs in Pajarito park

and in the Rio Grande valley between the La Joya and Embudo. Fine specimens are to be seen also at the mouth of the cañons overlooking the Chama. . . . While some of these represent nothing more than idle picture-making, perhaps most of them are of serious totemic, legendary, and religious significance."

From the report of Governor H. J. Hagerman to the secretary of the interior, dated September 15, 1906, we take the following information concerning the Territory of New Mexico: The population is estimated to be between 290,000 and 300,000 people. In 1904 about sixty-four per cent. were of Spanish, Mexican, and Indian descent, and about thirty-six per cent. of Anglo Saxon and other origin, but nearly all the new settlers were Anglo Saxons. "Many of the people with Spanish or Mexican names now use the English language entirely. About ten per cent. of the total population of Spanish, Mexican, and Indian descent use the English language in preference to Spanish. A very much larger percentage of this class of our population is able to converse in the English language as well as the Spanish language. A very good illustration of the increase of the knowledge and use of English in Spanish speaking communities is the material increase in the circulation of English newspapers in such communities."

The most important industry in the Territory of New Mexico is that of sheep raising and wool growing. On the 1st of January, 1906, the United States government reports showed that New Mexico had within its borders nearly 4,000,000 head of sheep, worth about $14,000,000. The lumbering industry is also very important, the output of manufactured lumber for the year ending June 30, 1906, being nearly 120,000,000 feet.

The Territorial superintendent of education, Professor Hiram F. Hadley, says: "During the forty years succeeding the acquisition of New Mexico, educational advantages were almost entirely confined to schools supported by various branches of the Christian church—the Roman Catholic and

several Protestant denominations." The first Catholic Bishop of New Mexico was Monseigneur J. B. Lamy. The first common schools were really organized only in 1891 and have made great progress. "The English language is the legal language of all schools, no provision is made for teaching the Spanish. In some portions of the Territory the Spanish speaking people predominate. In such, just as in many French speaking parishes of Louisiana, the people are slow to abandon their native tongue. Even in these sections comparatively few schools exist in which English is not the chief language used and taught. Nearly all the children and young people among the natives understand and use the English language. For the young man in this southwestern country no other educational qualification possesses so great commercial value as a good knowledge of both Spanish and English." The Normal School of New Mexico is at Silver City; the New Mexico Normal University is at Las Vegas; the University of New Mexico is at Albuquerque; the Agricultural College at Las Cruces; the School of Mines at Socorro; and the Military Institute at Roswell.

The mineral productions are quite extensive. "Gold, silver, copper, lead, anthracite and bituminous coal, lignite, salt, plumbago, fine clay, gypsum, cement and marble occur in the mountain districts, and fine turquoises, emeralds, sapphires, garnets, opals, agates, petrified wood, and other precious stones abound."

The people of New Mexico are very desirous to see the Territory become a State, but they do not wish to be united to Arizona in statehood, a feeling which is shared by the inhabitants of Arizona. The following extracts from a letter written by Ex-Governor Bradford L. Prince in 1903, and published in the *New York Tribune*, give an excellent idea of New Mexico's claims to statehood and of the condition of the Territory: "As early as 1850 the people of New Mexico, relying on the pledges of our government, held a convention, adopted a constitution, elected state

officers, a legislature, and W. S. Messervy as member of Congress. In July the legislature elected R. H. Weightman and W. C. Cunningham as senators, and they with the member of Congress proceeded to Washington. While on the journey they were met by the intelligence of the passage on September 9th, of the famous 'Compromise measure,' which admitted California as a State and relegated New Mexico to the condition of a Territory. From that time to the present attempts to secure admission have been constantly made, and Congress has not entirely failed to respond to these appeals. In 1874-75 both houses of the Forty-Third Congress passed an enabling act, the house by a vote of one hundred and sixty to fifty-four, and the senate by thirty-two to eleven. The bill was slightly amended in the senate, and failed because it was impossible at the end of the session to bring it up for concurrence in the house. In the succeeding congress, a similar bill passed the senate by a vote of thirty-five to fifteen, was reported favorably in the house, but failed to be reached. For twenty years scarcely a congress has met in which an enabling act has not been passed in one house or the other; but by some accident or obstacle concurrent action has failed.

"I desire briefly to state a few facts to show not only that New Mexico has long passed that exceptional period, but as above stated, it is better prepared for statehood than any of the territories heretofore admitted.

"Population. No territory at the time of its admission, with the exception of Dakota and Utah, contained the population now in New Mexico. By the census of 1900 it had 195,310 inhabitants, without counting the Indians on the reservations. The real population, as has been conclusively shown in public documents, was about 225,000. But, taking the census figures, the above statement is correct. I must not occupy space with the full list of the populations of the territories at the times of their admission, but, as examples, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois each had about 50,000 inhabitants; if we take the preceding census,

as we are doing with New Mexico, Indiana had only 24,530, and Illinois 12,282. So it is evident that there is no reason, on account of lack of population, for depriving the people of New Mexico of their rights as citizens. On the contrary, it has more population than the old state of Delaware, 50,000 more than Idaho, more than double that of Wyoming, and five times that of Nevada.

"If we consider the matter of natural resources and actual taxable valuation, we find that in the latter she far exceeds many other new states, and as to the variety and extent of resources, no other state approaches her except California and Colorado, and her vast treasure of coal gives her the advantage, even over those favored regions.

"The character of the population seems to be a bugbear to the unfriendly senators who recently became familiar, in three days, with the territory, which is much larger than New England and New York combined. Facts, however, should carry more weight than prejudices or unfounded slanders.

"The people are loyal. During the rebellion, out of a total population of 93,567 she sent 6,561 into the army, a larger percentage than any eastern state, and the victory at Glorieta saved the Pacific slope to the Union. In the recent Spanish war no less than 1,089 volunteers enlisted, including about 500 Rough Riders, who gained renown and made a President at San Juan Hill.

"They are American. The foreign element is smaller in New Mexico than anywhere else in the country, except some parts of the South. Only 7½ per cent. of the population is foreign born. Idaho had 21, Wyoming 24, Washington 25, Montana 43, North Dakota 45. Even in the older States, New York and Michigan have 26, Massachusetts 29, Rhode Island, Wisconsin and California 30, and Minnesota 36 per cent.

"They are public spirited. Without the slightest aid from the national government they have built a beautiful capitol, a substantial penitentiary, an insane asylum, university, agricultural college, school of mines, normal university,

normal school, military institute, and blind asylum, and when the capitol was destroyed by fire they erected another, which is the object of general admiration. Besides these territorial institutions they have erected a multitude of county and city buildings.

"But to the uninformed the large number of citizens of Spanish descent is looked upon as a grave misfortune. There could not be a greater mistake. It is the possession of that conservative element in connection with the enterprising American from the east which gives New Mexico her special advantages as a self-governing community. Every one familiar with the far west knows that the principal danger in new sections arises from the unsettled character of much of the population. They are always looking for some new place to which to emigrate. They are ready to vote for any amount of bonds and taxation, and to their irresponsible action is principally due the heavy indebtedness of so many western counties. The chief danger in many a new community comes from this class of men, and from the over enthusiasm of others who think that life in the west is a continual boom. But New Mexico runs no such risks. She has a stable and conservative element in her native population which counteracts the danger. They are attached to the soil and have no thought of leaving. They are naturally opposed to rash schemes, which involve extravagant expense. Mixed with the zealous American they form an admirable combination.

"Another objection raised against us is illiteracy. Some years ago there may have been force in this argument, but it has disappeared. In no respect has New Mexico made such rapid progress as in public education. Even under the crude system which existed before the public school law of 1891, the census showed that while the population of the territory increased 28 per cent. during the decade from 1880 to 1890, the number of children enrolled in the schools increased 283 per cent., or ten times as rapidly. During the last decade the gain has been equally gratifying.

The school law of 1891 gave a great impetus to public education, and the system is now very satisfactory. The total enrolment of scholars last year was 42,925. In this connection I wish to state a fact which may be a surprise, that New Mexico, with less than 250,000 people, now supports more public institutions of college grade than any state east of the Alleghanies. She has the university, agricultural college, normal university, school of mines, and military institute. All these have fine buildings and are creditably administered. Where is there any other community of similar population doing as much for higher education?

"Thus it will be seen that in every essential particular New Mexico has long passed the period where a territorial government was necessary or justifiable. But for partisanship and prejudice it would have been admitted long ago.

"One word with regard to the name 'New Mexico,' which seems to be a bugbear to some eastern minds. All kinds of propositions are made for a change, a favorite suggestion being Montezuma, for no conceivable reason, as there is not the slightest connection between the unfortunate Aztec sovereign and this section of country. On the other hand, 'New Mexico' is an old historic name. Only one American state, Florida, has a name more ancient. It was first used in 1581 by Espejo, more than a quarter of a century before Jamestown, New Amsterdam or Plymouth was thought of. On all the ancient maps it appears as the 'Kingdom of New Mexico,' extending from Florida on the east to the Pacific on the west. It would be vandalism to change a name so full of historic associations and which has endured for more than three centuries." We hope that the above plea will be heeded by Congress and that both New Mexico and Arizona will soon be admitted as States of the American Union.

Before we close our relation of New Mexico, mention must be made of Christopher Carson, better known as Kit Carson, who is a most picturesque character in the history of that

section. He was born in Kentucky on December 24, 1809, and died at Fort Lynn, Colorado, on May 23, 1868. While he was an infant his family emigrated to what is now Howard county, Missouri. He was apprenticed to a saddler at the age of fifteen, and after two years joined a hunting expedition. He became a trapper and, later, hunter to Bent's Fort. He served as a guide to Frémont in his Rocky Mountain expeditions, and in 1847 was sent to Utah as the bearer of dispatches. He then received an appointment in the rifle corps of the United States Army. In 1853 he drove six thousand five hundred sheep into California, and on his return to Taos he was appointed Indian agent in New Mexico. He served in the Federal army during the Civil War and rose to the rank of brevet brigadier-general.

With the account of the history of New Mexico and Arizona we arrive at the conclusion of the volume which comprises the history of Central America and Mexico. It is an interesting and picturesque history, where one sees many races and many civilizations, and in studying it one may obtain valuable lessons. One may see how nations fall through despotism or through civil strife, and how they rise through freedom, concord and energy. Let us hope that the people of Central America will soon follow the example of Mexico and of American Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, and will enjoy the blessings of a liberal and progressive government.

# APPENDIX I

## *TREATY OF ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, APRIL 12, 1844*

ART. I. The Republic of Texas, acting in conformity with the wishes of the people and every department of its government, cedes to the United States all its territories, to be held by them in full property and sovereignty, and to be annexed to the said United States as one of their Territories, subject to the same constitutional provisions with their other Territories. This cession includes all public lots and squares, vacant lands, mines, minerals, salt lakes and springs, public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports and harbors, navy and navy yards, docks, magazines, arms, armaments and accoutrements, archives and public documents, public funds, debts, taxes and dues unpaid at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

ART. II. The citizens of Texas shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and admitted, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the United States.

ART. III. All titles and claims to real estate, which are valid under the laws of Texas, shall be held to be so by the United States; and measures shall be adopted for the speedy adjudication of all unsettled claims to land, and patents shall be granted to those found to be valid.

ART. IV. The public lands hereby ceded shall be subject to the laws regulating the lands in the other Territories of the United States, as far as they may be applicable; subject, however, to such alterations and changes as Congress may from time to time think proper to make. It is understood between the parties, that, if in consequence of the mode in which lands have been surveyed in Texas, or from previous grants or locations, the sixteenth section cannot be applied for the purpose of education, Congress shall make equal provision by grant of land elsewhere. And it is also further understood that, hereafter, the books, papers, and documents of the General Land Office of Texas shall be deposited and kept at such place in Texas as the Congress of the United States shall direct.

ART. V. The United States assume and agree to pay the public debts and liabilities of Texas, however created, for which the faith or credit of her government may be bound at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty; which debts and liabilities are estimated not to exceed, in the whole, ten millions of dollars, to be ascertained and paid in the manner hereinafter stated.

The payment of the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars shall be made at the Treasury of the United States, within ninety days after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, as follows: two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to Frederick Dawson, of Baltimore, or his executors, on the delivery of that amount of ten per cent. bonds of Texas; one hundred thousand dollars, if so much be required, in the redemption of the exchequer bills which may be in circulation at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. For the payment of the remainder of the debts and liabilities of Texas, which, together with the amount already specified, shall not exceed ten millions of dollars, the public lands herein ceded, and the nett revenue from the same, are hereby pledged.

ART. VI. In order to ascertain the full amount of the debts and liabilities herein assumed, and the legality and

validity thereof, four commissioners shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall meet at Washington, Texas, within the period of six months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, and may continue in session not exceeding twelve months, unless the Congress of the United States should prolong the time. They shall take an oath for the faithful discharge of their duties, and that they are not directly or indirectly interested in said claims at the time, and will not be during their continuance in office; and the said oath shall be recorded with their proceedings. In case of the death, sickness, or resignation of any of the commissioners, his or their place or places may be supplied by the appointment as aforesaid, or by the President of the United States during the recess of the Senate. They, or a majority of them, shall be authorized, under such regulations as the Congress of the United States may prescribe, to hear, examine, and decide on all questions touching the legality and validity of said claims, and shall, when a claim is allowed, issue a certificate to the claimant, stating the amount, distinguishing principal from interest. The certificates so issued shall be numbered, and entry made of the number, the name of the person to whom issued, and the amount, in a book to be kept for the purpose. They shall transmit the records of their proceedings and the book in which the certificates are entered, with the vouchers and documents produced before them, relative to the claims allowed or rejected, to the Treasury Department of the United States, to be deposited therein; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall, as soon as practicable after the receipt of the same, ascertain the aggregate amount of the debts and liabilities allowed; and if the same, when added to the amount to be paid to Frederick Dawson, and the sum which may be paid in the redemption of the exchequer bills, shall not exceed the estimated sum of ten millions of dollars, he shall, on the presentation of a certificate of the Commissioners, issue, at the option of the

holder, a new certificate for the amount, distinguishing principal from interest, and payable to him or order, out of the nett proceeds of the public lands hereby ceded, or stock of the United States, for the amount allowed, including principal and interest, and bearing an interest of three per cent. per annum from the date thereof; which stock, in addition to being made payable out of the nett proceeds of the public lands hereby ceded, shall also be receivable in payment for the same. In case the amount of the debts and liabilities allowed, with the sums aforesaid to be paid to Frederick Dawson, and which may be paid in the redemption of the exchequer bills, shall exceed the said sum of ten millions of dollars, the said Secretary, before issuing a new certificate, or stock, as the case may be, shall make in each case such proportionable and ratable reduction on its amount as to reduce the aggregate to the said sum of ten millions of dollars; and he shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations necessary to carry into effect the powers hereby vested in him.

ART. VII. Until further provision shall be made, the laws of Texas, as now existing, shall remain in force, and all executive and judicial officers of Texas, except the President, Vice-President, and heads of departments, shall retain their offices, with all power and authority appertaining thereto; and the courts of justice shall remain in all respects as now established and organized.

ART. VIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the President of the United States, by and with the consent of the Senate, shall appoint a commissioner, who shall proceed to Texas and receive the transfer of the territory thereof, and all the archives and public property, and other things herein conveyed, in the name of the United States. He shall exercise all executive authority in said Territory necessary to the proper execution of the laws, until otherwise provided.

ART. IX. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at the

city of Washington, in six months from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and of the Republic of Texas, have signed, by virtue of our powers, the present treaty of annexation, and have hereunto affixed our seals, respectively.

Done at Washington, the twelfth day of April, eighteen hundred and forty-four.

J. C. CALHOUN. [SEAL]
ISAAC VAN ZANDT. [SEAL]
J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON. [SEAL]

[This secret treaty was rejected in the Senate, on June 8th, by a majority of more than two-thirds, and the annexation of Texas was authorized by a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress, on February 28, 1845.]

## APPENDIX II

*TREATY OF MIRAMAR, SIGNED ON APRIL 10, 1864*

A CONVENTION, followed by secret additional articles, having been concluded on April 10, 1864, between France and Mexico, to settle the conditions of the sojourn of French troops in Mexico, the said convention and secret additional articles are as follows:

ART. I. The French troops now in Mexico shall, as soon as possible, be reduced to a corps of twenty-five thousand men, including the foreign legion. This corps, as a safeguard to the interests which have brought about the French intervention, shall temporarily remain in Mexico under the conditions agreed upon in the following articles.

ART. II. The French troops shall gradually evacuate Mexico as H. M. the Emperor of Mexico shall be able to organize the troops necessary to take their place.

ART. III. The foreign legion in the service of France, composed of eight thousand men, shall, however, remain for six years in Mexico after all other French forces shall have been recalled under Article II. From that date said legion shall pass into the service and pay of the Mexican government, the Mexican government reserving unto itself the right to shorten the duration of the employment in Mexico of the foreign legion.

ART. IV. The points of the territory to be occupied by the French troops, as well as the military expeditions of said troops, if necessary, shall be determined under direct

agreement between H. M. the Emperor of Mexico and the commander-in-chief of the French corps.

ART. V. Upon all points where a garrison shall not be exclusively composed of Mexican troops, the military command shall devolve upon the French commander. In case of combined expeditions of French and Mexican troops the superior command shall also belong to the French commander.

ART. VI. The French commanders shall not interfere with any branch of the Mexican administration.

ART. VII. So long as the needs of the French army-corps will require every two months a service of transports between France and the port of Vera Cruz, the expense of this service, fixed at the sum of four hundred thousand francs per journey, including return, shall be borne by the Mexican government and paid in Mexico.

ART. VIII. The naval stations supported by France in the Antilles and in the Pacific Ocean shall frequently send ships to show the French flag in the Mexican ports.

ART. IX. The cost of the French expedition in Mexico, to be reimbursed by the Mexican government, is fixed at the sum of two hundred and seventy million francs from the time of the expedition to July 1, 1864. That sum shall bear interest at three per cent. a year.

ART. X. The indemnity to be paid to France by the Mexican government for the pay and support of the army-corps from July 1, 1864, shall be fixed at the rate of one thousand francs per man a year.

ART. XI. The Mexican government shall at once remit to the French government the sum of sixty-six millions in loan securities at par, *i. e.*, fifty-four millions to be deducted from the debt mentioned in Article IX, and twelve millions as an instalment on the indemnities due to the French under Article XIV of the present agreement.

ART. XII. In payment of the balance of war expenses and of the charges mentioned in Articles VII, X, and XIV, the Mexican government agrees to pay to France the annual

sum of twenty-five million francs in cash. That sum shall be credited, first, to the sums due under Articles VII and X; second, to the amount, interest and principal, of the sum fixed in Article IX; third, to the indemnities still due to French subjects under Article XIV and following.

ART. XIII. The Mexican government shall pay on the last day of every month, in Mexico, into the hands of the paymaster-general of the army, the amount necessary to cover the expense of the French troops remaining in Mexico, in conformity with Article X.

ART. XIV. The Mexican government agrees to indemnify French subjects for the grievances unduly suffered by them and which caused the expedition.

ART. XV. A mixed commission composed of three Frenchmen and three Mexicans, appointed by their respective governments, shall meet in Mexico within three months to examine into and settle these claims.

ART. XVI. A mission of revision composed of two Frenchmen and two Mexicans, appointed as above and sitting in Paris, shall proceed to the definite settlement of the claims already admitted by the commission mentioned in the preceding article, and shall pass upon those the settlement of which shall be reserved to them.

ART. XVII. The French government shall set free all Mexican prisoners of war as soon as H. M. the Emperor of Mexico shall have entered his empire.

ART. XVIII. The present convention shall be ratified and the ratification shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

Done at the Castle of Miramar, on April 10, 1864.

HERBET.
VELAZQUEZ.

"*Secret Additional Articles*" *to the Treaty of Miramar.*

ART. I. H. M. the Emperor of Mexico, approving the principles and promises announced in General Forey's proclamation, dated June 12, 1863, as well as the measures

taken by the regency and by the French general-in-chief in accordance with said declaration, has resolved to inform his people, by a manifesto, of his intentions in the matter.

ART. II. On his side, H. M. the Emperor of the French declares that the actual effective force of the French corps of thirty-eight thousand men shall only be reduced gradually and from year to year, in such a way that the French troops remaining in Mexico, including the foreign legion, shall be of twenty-eight thousand men in 1865, of twenty-five thousand in 1866, of twenty thousand in 1867.

ART. III. When the said foreign legion, under the terms of Article III of the above convention, shall pass into the service and pay of Mexico, as it nevertheless shall continue to serve a cause in which France is interested, its generals and officers shall preserve their quality of Frenchmen and their claim to promotion in the French army according to law.

Done at the Castle of Miramar, April 10, 1864.

HERBET.
VELAZQUEZ.

## APPENDIX III

*CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA, NOVEMBER 18, 1903*

*For the construction of a ship canal to connect the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.*

ART. I. The United States guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama.

ART. II. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said Canal of the width of ten miles extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the centre line of the route of the Canal to be constructed; the said zone beginning in the Caribbean Sea three marine miles from mean low water mark and extending to and across the Isthmus of Panama into the Pacific ocean to a distance of three marine miles from mean low water mark with the proviso that the cities of Panama and Colon and the harbors adjacent to said cities, which are included within the boundaries of the zone above described, shall not be included within this grant. The Republic of Panama further grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of any other lands and waters outside of the zone above described which may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal or of any auxiliary canals or other works necessary and convenient

for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said enterprise.

The Republic of Panama further grants in like manner to the United States in perpetuity all islands within the limits of the zone above described and in addition thereto the group of small islands in the Bay of Panama, named Perico, Naos, Culebra and Flamenco.

ART. III. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article II of this agreement and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said Article II which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority.

ART. IV. As rights subsidiary to the above grants the Republic of Panama grants in perpetuity to the United States the right to use the rivers, streams, lakes and other bodies of water within its limits for navigation, the supply of water or water-power or other purposes, so far as the use of said rivers, streams, lakes and bodies of water and the waters thereof may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal.

ART. V. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity a monopoly for the construction, maintenance and operation of any system of communication by means of canal or railroad across its territory between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific ocean.

[Article VI affirms the rights of private owners to land and other property and rights of way in the canal zone, and provides for compensation to such owners by the United States.]

ART. VII. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States within the limits of the cities of Panama and Colon and their adjacent harbors and within the territory adjacent

thereto the right to acquire by purchase or by the exercise of the right of eminent domain, any lands, buildings, water rights or other properties necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation and protection of the Canal and of any works of sanitation, such as the collection and disposition of sewage and the distribution of water in the said cities of Panama and Colon, which, in the discretion of the United States may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal and railroad. All such works of sanitation, collection and disposition of sewage and distribution of water in the cities of Panama and Colon shall be made at the expense of the United States, and the Government of the United States, its agents or nominees shall be authorized to impose and collect water rates and sewerage rates which shall be sufficient to provide for the payment of interest and the amortization of the principal of the cost of said works within a period of fifty years and upon the expiration of said term of fifty years the system of sewers and water works shall revert to and become the properties of the cities of Panama and Colon respectively, and the use of the water shall be free to the inhabitants of Panama and Colon, except to the extent that water rates may be necessary for the operation and maintenance of said system of sewers and water.

The Republic of Panama agrees that the cities of Panama and Colon shall comply in perpetuity with the sanitary ordinances whether of a preventive or curative character prescribed by the United States and in case the Government of Panama is unable or fails in its duty to enforce this compliance by the cities of Panama and Colon with the sanitary ordinances of the United States the Republic of Panama grants to the United States the right and authority to enforce the same.

The same right and authority are granted to the United States for the maintenance of public order in the cities of Panama and Colon and the territories and harbors adjacent

thereto in case the Republic of Panama should not be, in the judgment of the United States, able to maintain such order.

[Article VIII grants to the United States the property rights of the Republic of Panama in the canal and railroad companies, and authorizes the transfer to the United States of all said companies' rights, but reserves to the Republic of Panama all public lands outside the canal zone, except property of the companies within the cities of Panama and Colon or their ports or terminals.]

[Article IX stipulates for the freedom of the ports at both entrances of the Canal and of Panama and Colon from all tolls and charges on vessels using the Canal, except charges made for use of the Canal and those upon merchandise for consumption in the rest of Panama, and upon vessels touching at the ports mentioned but not crossing the Canal. It also provides for custom houses and guards in the entrance ports and in Panama and Colon.]

[Article X provides that the Canal and all auxiliary works shall be free from all taxation.]

[Articles XI, XII, XIII stipulate for equal charges on official telegraph and telephone messages of both powers over the Canal lines: for unrestricted immigration of employés and workmen for the Canal and auxiliary works: and for duty-free importation of vessels, machines, and all other articles necessary to the work of the Canal.]

[Article XV regulates the appointment and authority of the commission to appraise damages sustained by private owners through the construction and maintenance of the Canal.]

[Article XVI provides for the reciprocal treatment of fugitives from justice within the Canal zone and the other territory of Panama.]

[Article XVII grants port privileges for vessels in distress engaged in the Canal enterprise or to pass through the Canal.]

ART. XVIII. The Canal, when constructed, and the entrances thereto shall be neutral in perpetuity, and shall

be opened upon the terms provided for by Section I of Article three of, and in conformity with all the stipulations of, the treaty entered into by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on November 18, 1901.

ART. XIX. The Government of the Republic of Panama shall have the right to transport over the Canal its vessels and its troops and munitions of war in such vessels at all times without paying charges of any kind. The exemption is to be extended to the auxiliary railway for the transportation of persons in the service of the Republic of Panama, or of the police force charged with the preservation of public order outside of said zone, as well as to their baggage, munitions of war and supplies.

ART. XX. If by virtue of any existing treaty in relation to the territory of the Isthmus of Panama, whereof the obligations shall descend or be assumed by the Republic of Panama, there may be any privilege or concession in favor of the Government or the citizens and subjects of a third power relative to an interoceanic means of communication which in any of its terms may be incompatible with the terms of the present convention, the Republic of Panama agrees to cancel or modify such treaty in due form, for which purpose it shall give to the said third power the requisite notification within the term of four months from the date of the present convention, and in case the existing treaty contains no clause permitting its modifications or annulment, the Republic of Panama agrees to procure its modification or annulment in such form that there shall not exist any conflict with the stipulations of the present convention.

ART. XXI. The rights and privileges granted by the Republic of Panama to the United States in the preceding Articles are understood to be free of all anterior debt, liens, trusts, or liabilities, or concessions, or privileges to other Governments, corporations, syndicates or individuals, and consequently, if there should arise any claims on account of the present concessions and privileges or otherwise, the claimants shall resort to the Government of the Republic

of Panama and not to the United States for any indemnity or compromise which may be required.

ART. XXII. The Republic of Panama renounces and grants to the United States the participation to which it might be entitled in the future earnings of the Canal under Article XV of the concessionary contract with Lucien N. B. Wyse now owned by the New Panama Canal Company and any and all other rights or claims of a pecuniary nature arising under or relating to said concession, or arising under or relating to the concessions to the Panama Railroad Company or any extension or modification thereof; and it likewise renounces, confirms and grants to the United States, now and hereafter, all the rights and property reserved in the said concessions which otherwise would belong to Panama at or before the expiration of the terms of ninety-nine years of the concessions granted to or held by the above mentioned party and companies, and all right, title and interest which it now has or may hereafter have, in and to the lands, canal, works, property and rights held by the said companies under said concessions or otherwise, and acquired or to be acquired by the United States from or through the New Panama Canal Company, including any property and rights which might or may in the future either by lapse of time, forfeiture or otherwise, revert to the Republic of Panama under any contracts or concessions, with said Wyse, the Universal Panama Canal Company, the Panama Railroad Company and the New Panama Canal Company.

The aforesaid rights and property shall be and are free and released from any present or reversionary interest in or claims of Panama and the title of the United States thereto upon consummation of the contemplated purchase by the United States from the New Panama Canal Company, shall be absolute, so far as concerns the Republic of Panama, excepting always the rights of the Republic specifically secured under this treaty.

ART. XXIII. If it should become necessary at any time to employ armed forces for the safety or protection of the

Canal, or of the ships that make use of the same, or the railways and auxiliary works, the United States shall have the right, at all times and in its discretion, to use its police and its land and naval forces or to establish fortifications for these purposes.

ART. XXIV. No change either in the Government or in the laws and treaties of the Republic of Panama shall, without the consent of the United States, affect any right of the United States under the present convention, or under any treaty stipulation between the two countries that now exists or may hereafter exist touching the subject matter of this convention.

If the Republic of Panama shall hereafter enter as a constituent into any other Government or into any union or confederation of states, so as to merge her sovereignty or independence in such Government, union or confederation, the rights of the United States under this convention shall not be in any respect lessened or impaired.

ART. XXV. For the better performance of the engagements of this convention and to the end of the efficient protection of the Canal and the preservation of its neutrality, the Government of the Republic of Panama will sell or lease to the United States lands adequate and necessary for naval or coaling stations on the Pacific coast and on the western Caribbean coast of the Republic at certain points to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

ART. XXVI. . . . . .

Done at the City of Washington the 18th day of November in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and three.

JOHN HAY [SEAL]
P. BUNAU-VARILLA [SEAL]

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